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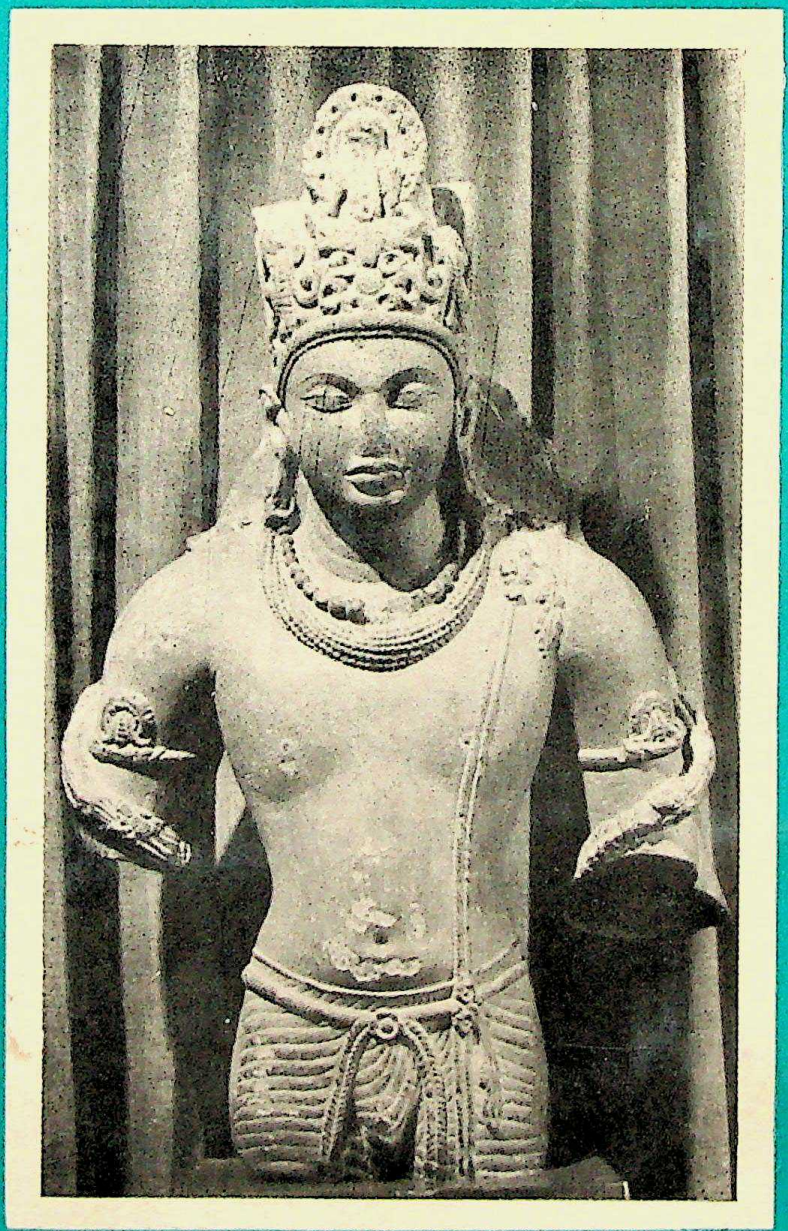
# Gupta Civilization



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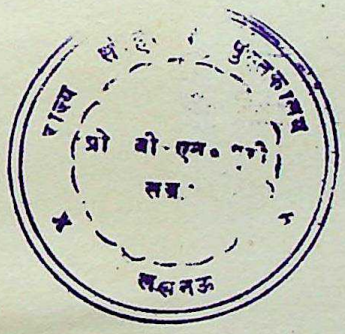

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Vikramorvashi. Terra-Cotta

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# GUPTA CIVILIZATION

SARLA KHOSLA
M.A. (History and Sanskrit) Ph.D. (History)

FOR FAVOUR OF REVIEW

INTELLECTUAL PUBLISHING HOUSE
NEW DELHI

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WITH LOVE
TO
SANJAY KHOSLA

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# FOREWORD

The Gupta period is an important epoch in the history of India. Guptas exercised political influence over a considerable part of India and there was peace and prosperity for about two centuries during their rule, which provided a suitable condition for art, literature, science, trade and commerce to flourish. Some scholars associate the famous dramatists like Kalidasa, Sudraka and Visakhadatta, the lexicographer, Amarasimha, the astronomers, Aryabhata, Varahamihira and Brahmagupta and the Buddhist writers like Vasubandhu and Dinnaga with this period. The art of Mathura, Sarnath, Deogarh, Bhumara, Bagh and Ajanta, just to mention a few places, provide some of the best examples of the Gupta-Vakata period. This art influence considerably the art of the subsequent periods of India. In short, there was an all-round development of the society during the Gupta period.

While the political history of the period has been studied in detail, the social and economic history of the people have not received proper attention from the scholars as yet. This lacuna has been filled to a great extent by the present volume: "Gupta Civilization by Dr. Sarla Khosla." She has studied the subject closely and her book is a laudable attempt to show how the people lived, the religions and sacraments they followed, the trade and commerce they carried, the jewellery and costumes they wore, and the art and literature they developed, so on and so forth. The contributions of the Buddhist monks, i.e. the message of world peace and goodwill they spread in India and the neighbouring countries, have also been dealt with elaborately by the author.

The author has supported her statements from original sources. I am impressed by the wide command of her sources and the justification with which she uses them.

This volume is a welcome addition to our existing literature on the subject.

P. BANERJEE

Assistant Director,
National Museum,
New Delhi.

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# PREFACE

"History of Gupta Civilization" relates the story of the rise of Guptas in power, their contribution and their gradual fall. I have made an attempt to utilise all available historical, epigraphic and archaeological sources.

The study of contemporary, pre- and post-Gupta period literature including Puranas and inscriptions in India, S-E Asia and East Asia, sheds a very interesting light on the religious, cultural and economic life of the period, and the development of Sanskrit prose and verse in and outside Bharat.

Scattered paintings on the walls of different temples, buildings, and caves at Ajanta and Ellora depict a very high standard of civilization prevailing in the country. The perfection of technique and the boldness of execution still visible there has scarcely been excelled even upto the present century.

The sculptured pieces of Art scattered from Kashmir to Ceylon and beyond in Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Burma, Siam and Thailand not only speak silently of the high standard of Art and skill of the artisans but retell the story of civilization India enjoyed under the patronage of Guptas. The smallest fragment of a Cave-temple depict the skill of sculptor and painter vehemently.

The skill of the artists did not remain confined to caves, temples, paintings and sculptures. The age produced coins of great artistic, historical and economic value. The percentage of alloy in coins depict Economic condition, the imprints of king in natural pose and dress, Laxmi, peacock, horse etc., and the small sentenced inscriptions e.g. Sri-Mahendra-Simha; Asvamedhaparakramah, the letter 'Si' under the standing horse on Asvamedha coins, indicating the word 'Siddham' having significant legends, are the recorded History of religion, Art and culture of the Era.

The Gupta period was the period of re-appearance of a unified rule after the extinction of Mauryan dynasty (3rd century B.C.). It is true that Vakatakas were the most powerful kings in South after the rise of Vindhyaśakti (in approximately 255-275 A.D.). But their most powerful King Rudrasena II (385-390 A.D.) in South was diplomatically defeated by Chandra Gupta II. The Gupta Emperor combined both the houses by marrying his daughter Prabhavati Gupta with him. After Rudrasena's sudden death in 390 A.D., as her two

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sons Divakara Sena and Damodra Sena were of five and two years only Prabhavati ruled Deccan for twenty years. It was during this regency that Guptas conquered Gujarat and Kathiawar. The dowager queen offered all assistance to her father in the conquests, though there is no evidence to support this conjecture.

Samudra Gupta's Allahabad Inscription narrates the military conquests of the emperor and says all the 'dvipas' obeyed him. The Gupta-style temples and stone sculptured deities of 4th Century A.D. in Cambodia, the Vaishnava and Śiva sculptures, Buddhist Stupas, brick buildings, Terra-Cotta and Gupta script in Burma, the Gupta Art examples in Indonesia, the remains of a temple and a little statuette of a walking Buddha in Siam (Thailand), the architecture of Thailand which resembles that of Java, Kambuja, Champa, and Burma—all speak of India's culture and are solid testimony to the fact that Samudra Gupta culturally united Further India with the Motherland within his two arms (Bahu-virya-prasra-dharṇi-bandhanya).

According to recorded tradition, India had been having trade relations with Suvarnabhumi from the time of Mahabharata. The archaeological finds reveal cultural impacts of not earlier than first century A.D. and the trade relations are referred to pre-Christian era.

India's wandering religious mendicants and merchants spread Indian religion and culture in East Asia and South-East Asia. India in this exchange was the giver and East Asia the receiver. The land as well as sea routes were followed by the pilgrims and traders.

Indian settlers came in contact with all grades of civilization from Savages of Cambodia who lived naked to the people of Java, who were beyond the primitive state of culture. All of them without doubt felt the impact of Indian civilization and observed it to a fairly large extent. Thus India removed the indigenous elements in these people and infused culture and civilization. The stupas of Borobudur and several magnificent temples in Java and Sumatra are undying memorials. Champa was sacked of 1350 Buddhist Books in 650 A.D. by the Chinese. Many kings constructed Buddhist temples and monasteries and installed Buddha images in Annam.

Indian literature does not give any hint of a conscious attempt by immigrants to Indianise South-East Asia. Only Buddhist missionaries worked to spread their faith and establish monasteries. Some of them earned widespread reputation for their learning and settled there. This was possible only due to local non-resistance to the influx of Indian missionaries, traders and migrants. Those who succeeded in influencing local chiefs and population seem to have been

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accepted as their rulers. They, at least in the beginning, brought to their courts and household the required staff of priests, goldsmiths, weavers, bards, sculptors, scholars, bodyguards and so on. Thus all aspects of culture of the rulers penetrated in the society of their adoption. Later on local influence were also assimilated by Indian settlers.

Thailand, though predominantly Buddhist, has traces of Hindu influences visible mostly in court ceremonies. There are still nearly eight families in Thailand, according to Shri D.P. Singhal, who claim their origin to Indian city of Varanasi. Some of the Siamese domestic ceremonies are of Hindu origin. The royal title 'Rama' is after the Hero of Ramayana. Thailand still celebrates the Dushera festival. Kambuja alphabet owes its origin to the alphabet of inscriptions in South India during 6th and 8th Centuries A.D. Forty-four consonants and thirty-two vowels of Siamese are of Indian origin.

The inspiration for writing this volume came from my late Guru, Dr. A.L. Srivastava, who attained Nirvana on 13th July, 1973.

My thanks are due to all who have helped me to finalise this work including Raghunath Pathshala MSS Library, Jammu; Archives, Jammu; SRS Library, Jammu; University Libraries of History & Sanskrit Departments, Jammu; National Library, Calcutta; University Library, Calcutta; D.A.V. College (Jullundur) Library; National Museum, New Delhi and Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu. I cannot but express my gratitute to the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, for providing me rare photographs.

I am indebted to Smt. Mekhla Jha and her husband, Shri L.K. Jha, the Governor of J & K State for permitting me to study their art collection and providing me a few photographs and Shri P. Banerji, Assistant Director, National Museum, New Delhi, for assisting me in dating and deciphering certain sculptured pieces and for writing the foreword to this Volume.

Before I conclude I should put on record with thanks the assistance given by Dr. P.N. Chopra, General Editor Gazetteers, Ministry of Education, for getting the work edited.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| A.C.A.N.I. | Antiquities and coins of Afghanistan and Northern India, H.H. Wilson. |
| Ancient Khotan | Sand Buried Ruins of Khotan |
| Asiat. Res. | Asiatic Researches |
| Ath. Veda | Atharva Veda |
| Bu-Ston | The History of Buddhism by Buston |
| CHI | Cultural Heritage of India |
| C.I.I. Fleet | Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, John Fithfull Fleet. |
| C.I.I.-Sten Konow | Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum by Sten Konow, Vol. II, Part I. |
| Ceylon | Ceylon by Sir James Emerson |
| D.N. | Digha Nikaya. |
| E.B.I. | Elements of Buddhist Iconography |
| E.P. | Epigraphica Indica |
| Hindu Art | Hindu Art in its Social settings |
| H.C.A.I. | History of Civilization in Ancient India |
| H.S.L. | History of Sanskrit Literature |
| H.S.D. | History of Sanskrit Drama |
| H.S.P. | History of Sanskrit Poetics |
| H.I.L. | History of Indian Literature |
| I.A. | Indian Antiquary |
| I-Tsing-Takakusu | Buddhist practices in India by I-Tsing, Tr. by Takakusu. |
| Indian Shipping | A History of Indian shipping and maritime activity from the earliest times by R.K. Mukerji, 1912. |
| Indian Sculpture | Masterpieces of Indian Sculpture by C. Sivaramamurti. |
| I.W.C. | Indian and the world civilization by D.P. Singhal. |
| J.A.S.B. | Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal |

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| | |
|---|---|
| JRAS | Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society |
| J.P.T.S. | Journal of the Pali Text Society |
| J.B.O.R.S. | Journal of the Bihar Orissa Research Society. |
| Kambuja | Inscriptions of Kambuja, R.C. Majumdar |
| L.E.A. | Legends of Emperor Aśoka (Aśokāvadāna) |
| M.Bh. | Mahābhārta. |
| P.H.A.I. | Political History of Ancient India, R.C. Raychaudhari |
| Rajat. | Rajatarangini of Kalhana |
| R.V. | Rig Veda |
| S.A.I.C. | Some Aspects of Indian Culture, C. Sivaramamurti, National Museum, Delhi. |
| S.N. | Samyutta Nikaya. |
| S.I.S. | A Survey of Indian Sculpture S. K Saraswati. |
| Schiefner | Geschte Des Budhismus in Indian by Taranatha—Tr. by F.A.V. Schiefner. |
| Si-Yu-Ki | Hien Tsang's Travels in India. Vols. |
| Waddell | Buddhism in Tibet by Austin Waddell. |

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# 1

# The Rise and Fall of Guptas

The Kuṣana Empire continued to disintegrate right up to the beginning of the Fourth Century A.D. They still held sway over western Punjab but ceased to exercise any authority further east.

The śakas ruled over Gujarat and a part of Malwa but their power too was on the decline.

After a prolonged struggle of fifty years, the Nagas swept away Kuṣanas and Saka Satrapas and established themselves in the Gangetic basin and in Mathura.

The Andhra Empire in the south-east of Satavahanas, who had rolled back the tide of Scythians in the north-west in the post-Mauryan period, too broke up, and the Vakatakas rose to great prominence in northern Maharashtra and Vidarbha in the period 250-435 A.D.

And then a union with the kingdom of Nagas around 344-348 helped Vakatakas to establish a strong military power in Central India.

It was on this political stage of India's history that Guptas appeared.

## Origin of Guptas

The Origin of Guptas is shrouded in obscurity. Guptas are famous for belonging to the Vaiśya caste.[1] Although certain Brahmans[2] and

1 शर्मा देवस्य विप्रस्य वर्मा त्राता च भूभजः ।
भूतिर्गुप्तश्च वैश्यस्य दासः शूद्रस्य कारयेत् ॥

2 R.C. Tripathi (Prachin-Bharat-Ka-Itihas), p. 180 points about one astrologer Brahmana as Brahma-Gupta.

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officials of Śungas and Satavahanas had "Gupta" as their surname,[3] their identity with the Gupta emperors is yet to be established. Dr. K.P. Jayaswal[4] suggests that Guptas belonged to the Karaṣkara Jat (Gotra) of Punjab, whereas Dr. R.C. Majumdar[5] relies on Javanese texts to surmise that they belonged to the Ikṣvaku race. But we can be certain of one thing from an inscription of Prabhavati Gupta : they belonged to the Dharna Gotra.[6]

### Gupta Era

Though traces of Gupta rule in Magadha and neighbouring tracts down to Ganga are found as early as the Second Century,[7] the Gupta Era truly begins in 320 A.D. The period between 320 and 500, when Guptas cast several contemporary dynasties like Vakatakas and Nagas into shade, can be called the Early Gupta Period. The Later Gupta Period falls roughly between 500 and the death of Jivat Gupta II (725-731?) : though the heydays of Guptas were over, the memory of their greatness lingered during this period and echoed culturally in the literary records, legends, art and architecture.

## FOUNDATIONS OF THE GUPTA DYNASTY

'Gupta' was the first king of the dynasty with the title of Maharaja

3 H.C. Raychaudhuri, P.H.A.I., p. 527.
Barhut Pillar Inscription of Śunga period refers to Gotiputa as the son of Visadeva.
Śiva Gupta (Nasik Inscription); (Pura or Puru) Gupta (Karle inscriptions); Sivaskanda Gupta (E.I., Jan. 1902, p. 66).

4 Dr. K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 115.
R.C. Tripathi refutes this theory as this is based upon 'Kaumudi Mahotasva) which according to him is not so reliable a work of this period. Moreover Chandra Gupta and Chandra-Sena cannot be identified (R.C. Tripathi, Prachin-Bharat-Ka-Itihas, p. 180; K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 115-16).

5 I.H.Q. 1933, p. 930 ff. (The work referred is Tankri Kamandaka).

6 E.I., XV, pp. 41-42.
I.H.Q. 1930, p. 565. Prabhavati Gupta was Gupta princess and the Chief Queen of Agnimitra.

7 H.C. Raychaudhari, P.H.A.I., p. 528.
Vayu and Brahmanda Puraṇas narrate the rise of Guptas after Nagas as the rulers of Bihar up to Champavati or Bhagalpur. Vayu Puraṇa places their beginning during Naga period.
नवनागाः पद्मावत्यां कान्तिपुर्यां मथुरायमुनुंङ्गा प्रयागं मागधा गुप्तश्च भोक्ष्यन्ति ।

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or Ādhirāja[8]. It seems he was a feudatory chief in the beginning but became later the ruler of Magadha.[9] He was known as Śri Gupta to I-Tsing, the Chinese traveller (673-695 A.D.), who saw the ruins of "Chini Mandir", a temple for Chinese pilgrims built by him 500 years earlier near Mriga Sikhavana "which was forty yojanas to the east of Nalanda following the course of Ganga". The controversy over the date of Śri Gupta can perhaps rest because I-Tsing records the tradition that the foundations of the temple were laid nearly 500 years before his voyage.[10]

Śri Gupta or Maharaja Gupta ruled from 260 to 290, according to epigraphic evidence. Ghatotkacha, who came to power after his death, did not also succeed in attaining imperial status.

**Chandra Gupta I (320-335 A.D.)**

Chandra Gupta I, who came to power on the death of his father Ghatotkacha in 320, is the true founder of Gupta greatness.[11]

He was the first independent sovereign of the Gupta dynasty and the conventional Gupta genealogical records apply the title of "Maharajādhiraja" to him. The Gupta Era begins with 320 A.D. when he ascended the throne.

He married the Lichchavi princess Kumardevi and strengthened his position. The Allahabad Inscription[12] refers to their son, Samudra

8 E.I. XV, Poona plates. He was a chief, and Prabhavati has called him Ādhirāja.

9 Coinage of Anc. India, p. 150.
He (Śri Gupta) had a very small kingdom in S-E Bihar. According to Vayu Purana, early Guptas were the rulers at Allahabad on the Ganges, (Oudh and Benaras) side and not on the Yamuna side.
Bihar stone pillar insc. (No. 12 Fleet ICC) lines—17-19 (Maharaja Śri Gupta Prapautiasya—Lichchhavi-dauhitrasya-Mahadevyam Kumaradevyam Utpanasya-Maharajadhiraja Samudra Guptasya puttra...) .

10 Allen, Cat. coins of the Gupta Dyn.,
Pref. pp. 10, 15; Beal, JRAS, 1881, pp. 570-71; Ind. Ant. X (1881), p. 110.
I-Tsing's date would place Śri Gupta in about 175 A.D.
Allen has rejected the date and has identified Śri-Gupta with Samudra Gupta's great grandfather.
Dr. R.C. Tripathi, Prachin Bharat Ka Itihas, pp. 180-81.

11 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 150.
Sri seems to be only an indicator of respect and not a proper noun, as it is used for Ghatotkucha also in Veśali seal.
श्री घतोत्कचगुप्तस्य (A.S.A.R. 1903-4; p. 107).

12 A.I., line 29. Lichchavi.—dauhitrasya Mahadēvayam Kumaradevyam...

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Gupta, as grandson of Lichchavi princess. V.A. Smith[13] says the valuable influence Kumardevi brought as dowry secured for her husband in a short period a permanent position in Magadha and neighbouring areas.

The marriage had its social value for a Vaisya prince because Lichchavis, according to Manu Dharmaśastra (X.20.22), were decendants of Vratya Kshatriya, but its political importance was even higher. For the Lichchavis probably ruled between Vaisali and Nepal,[14] and the marriage meant the joint rule of Guptas and Lichchavis over a major part of northern India. Gold coins were struck to commemorate the marriage with the figures and names of both Chandra Gupta and Kumardevi on the obverse and a goddess riding a lion on the reverse with the legend, "Lichchavayah".[15]

Patliputra was in the possession of Guptas even during the reign of Śrí Gupta or Maharaja Gupta, according to both I-Tsing and Allen. An inscription (Kielhorn's North India Inscription No. 541) however suggests a connection between Lichchavis and Patliputra (Pushpapura). It is still to be established whether Vaiśali came under Guptas because of this marriage.[16]

One could deduce from the later conquests of Samudra Gupta that Chandra Gupta I had only Magadha and adjoining territories under him. According to Allen however he had, as mentioned in the

13 E.H.I., pp. 244, 295-96.

14 Vrātyas were excluded in those days from Savitri as they did not fulfil their sacred duties.

This marriage of Chandra Gupta with Lichchavis has more importance, for the hereditary enemies of Magadha thus Lichchavis were made friends. He married a lady who was neither Brahmanical Hindu nor a Magdhan (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 144-45).

Lichchavis, had been the rivals of the kings of Patliputra in olden days. After Pushyamitra, during disturbed times, they paid of old scores and had taken possession of the city (V.A. Smith, E.H.I., pp. 144-45).

15 Allen holds that these coins were struck by Samudra Gupta to commemorate his parents (Allen CC.G.D., Intro. p. 18). But the possibility of their being struck by Chandra Gupta himself cannot be ruled out (J.A.S.B. Numismatic supplement, No. 47, Part III, 1937, pp. 105-11).

Chandra Gupta I is the earliest Hindu ruler, whose inscribed gold coins have been discovered uptill now (Coinage in Ancient India, p. 151).

16 P.H.A.I., pp. 530-31; and ft. note 1, p. 531; R.C. Tripathi, P.B.I., p. 182.

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Puraṇas, not only Magadha (South Bihar) but Prayāga (Allahabad) on the Ganga and Saketa (Oudh)[17] as well :

Anu-Ganga-Prayagamcha Saketam Magadhamstatha
Etān Janpadan Sarvan bhokshyante Guptavam sajah.

It can however be said with certainty that Chandra Gupta I's dominion was sufficiently large to justify his adoption of the title "Maharajādhiraja". From Magadha he extended, with the help of Lichchavis, his dominion which ultimately developed into the Gupta Empire.

**Samudra Gupta (335-380)**

Samudra Gupta was, according to the Allahabad Inscription, "the son of the son's son of Maharaja the illustrious (Śri) Gupta; the son's son of Maharaja the illustrious (Śri) Ghatotkacha; the son of Maharajādhirāja the illustrious (Śri) Chandra Gupta, and the daugther's son of Lichchavis (Lichchavi-dauhitra) begotten of Mahadevi Kumardevi."[18]

The inscription also says that Chandra Gupta selected Samudra Gupta as his successor before the assembled councillors (Sabhyas).

The inscription gives a detailed account of Samudra Gupta's conquests. As it gives only a geographical description of his conquests, it is difficult to deduce their chronological order. It can however be safely construed that Samudra Gupta's first target was the neighbouring kingdoms of Aryavarta.[19]

Harisena's praśasti inscribed on the Allahabad pillar shows that Samudra Gupta was the first (Indian king ?) to adopt the imperial ideal of "Dharṇibandha" or "Digvijaya"—the conquest in all directions to bind Dharṇi or India together as a single unit. Harisena praises the emperor's skill in a hundred battles which left scars all

17 P.H.A.I., p. 531.
R.C. Tripathi, H.I., p. 182.
D.B. Diskalkar, Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions, p. 20.

18 A.I., lines 28, 29.
A few gold coins of 'Kacha' king led V.A. Smith to conclude that he was another contemporary of the Gupta Emperor but the epithet of 'Sarvarajachchhetta' (the up-rooter of all kings) cannot be assigned to anyone else but Samudra Gupta. (R.C. Tripathi, ft. note 4, p. 182). It may be presumed that 'Kacha' was Samudra Gupta's popular or first name.

19 R.C. Tripathi, Prachin Bharat Ka Itihas, p. 183.

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over his body (śat-anka-śobha).[20] The list of countries conquered and enemies subjugated on the Inscription makes the Praśasti not a mere eulogy but a literal record.

The full extent of Samudra Gupta's military achievements cannot be ascertained as the seventh verse of the Inscription is broken.

The permanent annexations were of some portions of the upper valley of Ganga and its tributaries and certain districts in central and eastern India.[21] Nine kings who were completely uprooted (Sarva-rāja-chchhatta) are named in the Inscription : Rudradeva, Nagadatta, Chandra Varman, Ganpati, Naga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandi and Balvarman.[22]

Nagasena and Achyuta seem to have been crushed by Samudra Gupta (unmuly Achyutta Nagasena) in a day (Kshant) at Kauśambi. A prince of the Kota family, not named in the inscription, was captured and Samudra Gupta entered Pushpapura (Patliputra).[23] (Kota kulajam pushpahvaye kridatta Suryyenē).

This war placed a large tract of the Gangetic Valley at the feet of Samudra Gupta. His territory now extended from Oudh, the

20 A.I., line 17, mentions about many war-weapons (paraśu-śaraśankhu-śakti-prāsāsi-tomera-phindpāla-n (ā) racha-vaitastikādy...).

The irony of time is that the inscription is engraved upon a pillar which bears Aśoka's inscription also. Samudra Gupta is famous for bloodiest battles of the time and Aśoka for the law of piety. Both the names are unsurpassed in their respective fields.

It seems that the inscription was engraved before Aşhvamedha yajña and after Samudra Gupta's conquests.

It is not posthumous as observed by Fleet (Buhler, J.R.A.S. 1898 p. 386). The Proclamation of Samudra Gupta's Victory over Naga and Achutya kings on Kausambi pillar seems to convey that Kausambi was more important place than Patliputra. Moreover according to line 30, Praśasti was also meant to be engraved on this pillar. "Bahurayam-Unchchhritah Stambah," (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 133-34).

21 As a result of these wars, Gupta Empire portrayed in the Purāṇas 'Anu Ganga-Prayaga-Saketa and Magadha' is more identical with Samudra Gupta's conquests rather than with that of Chandra Gupta-I.

22 A.I., L. 21.

23 A.I., L. 13. As the Kota king was captured by the army and not by him, it is just possible that Samudra Gupta's army officers were also fighting independent of him at a different front of Pushpapura. S. Gupta himself fought with Achyutta and Nagasena at a place other than Patliputra. The ultimate aim seems to be of the recovery of Magadha. Patliputra and the prince of Kota were captured easily and in no time (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 133).

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base of his operation, to Hardwar and the Siwalik, and from Allahabad to Bhagalpur at least.

Nagasena and Ganpati ruled over Padmavati (Padam Pawaya, 25 miles north-east of Narwar in old Gwalior state) and the Naga rulers of Vidisa (Bhilsa) and Mathura also joined the confederacy[24] with Nagasena as their leader. Nagasena was a noted soldier, according to Bhavaśataka's interpretation of the Kauśambi Pillar.[25]

Achyuta was perhaps the ruler of Ahichchtra (near Bareli) as coins found at nearby Ramnagar bear the name "Achy".[26] He was probably the scion of Nagas[27] as the Naga coins of Padamavati have the same fabric.

Nagadatta is identified as the father of Maharaja Maheśwara Nāga (a nāga-sub-king). His seal with the cobra mark found at Lahore has been dated 4th Century by Fleet (GIP 283).[28]

Nandi also seems to have been a naga king.[29]

Chandravarman's identity is still to be established. R.C. Majumdar believes him to be the ruler of West Bengal (in the Bankura district) whereas other writers identify him with Chandra of Delhi's Mahrauli pillar Inscription.

Matila is identified with "Mattila" of a seal found in Bulandshahr.

Rudradeva is identified with Rudrasena by Dr. Dikshit. How

24 Cl. Age., p. 8.
P.H.A.I., p. 534.
Vak, Gup. Age, pp. 139-40.
Dr. R.C. Tripathi, B.V.I., pp. 182 ff.
Dr. K.P. Jayaswal does not agree to the identity of this Nagasena with Nagasena of Padamavati (H.I., p. 133). K.P. Jayaswal's conclusions are mostly based upon Kaumudi Mahotsava Act. IV and believe this Nagasena was perhaps the son of Kirtishna of Magadha and perhaps a Gupta subordinate. But whatever the logic may be he was notable Naga ruler of the time.

25 Bhavaśataka was written in the reign of Ganpati Naga.
K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 133-34.

26 R.C. Tripathi, B.V.I., p. 184.

27 K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 133.
It is strange that Nagas seem to have ruled in Gangetic Doab and Eastern Malwa up to the time of Skanda Gupta. This is known from their family inscriptions (P.H.A.I., p. 537).

28 K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 142.

29 P.H.A.I., p. 535.
"The grouping Ruderdeva-Matila-Nagadatta-Chanderavarman is made up in a Geographical order. Matila was next to Ruderdeva, Nagadatta was further west and Chanderavarman, furthest in the Eastern Punjab" (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 143).

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his name is included in the list of Aryavarta kings in the inscription is a matter yet to be decided. He was either one of the powerful kings of northern India or was the Vakataka ruler who came up to help the confederacy and was defeated. Vakatakas were the most powerful rulers of Central India before the rise of Guptas.[30]

*Submission of Forest States* : Besides defeating these kings of the confederacy, Samudra Gupta made the rulers of Atavika Rajyas or forest states his servants. The Allahabad Inscription (Serv Atavika Rajasav—L. 21) and Iran Stone Inscription (Antaka tushti kopa tulyah—manayena Samudra Gupta—rajaya vibhava ddhru-tam—asthito bhut—L. 19) mention it.

They paid taxes, obeyed orders and waited personally on the emperor in obeyance.

According to the Allahabad Inscription, they were five kingdoms bordering the dominions directly under the emperor's rule : Samatata (South-East Bengal) with Karmanta or Bur-Kamta as its capital; Kamarupa (Assam); Nepal; Kartārpur (perhaps the territory comprising Kumaon, Garhwal and Rohilkhand or Kartārpur of Jullundur district); and Devaka[31] (probably Assam or Upper Burma or V.A. Smith's eastern side of Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajsahi districts).

30 J.B.O.R.S., March-June, 1933, p. 67; Ev. of Ind. Cul., p. 240. P.H.A.I., pp. 525-26.

31 R.C. Tripathi, P.B.I., p. 188; K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 144.
'This line of F. kings runs from the mouths of Ganges through the Lushai-Manipur-Assam to the Himalayan mountains covering that, what we call now Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal, and thence onward to the Simla Hills and Kangra (Kartṛipura) i.e. the hills above Bengal (Paundra) the united Province and upto the east Punjab (the Madraka country)" K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 144.

The Āṭvika kingdoms included Ālavika (Gazipur) as well as the forest kingdoms connected with Dabhāla (Jubulpur territory), H.C. Ray Chaudhary, P.H.A.I., p. 538.

Āṭvika-rulers, are the vindhyan-principalities of Baghalkhand and Eastern Ruhelkhand. This battle seems to have been fought at Eran, which lies at the gates of Bundelkhand on one side and Malwa on the other. This was a strategic point and here Vakatakas were defeated completely. The Iran stone inscription tells, S. Gupta had not assumed the title of Maharaja-dhiraja yet and hence it was inscribed before Allahabad Inscription. To mark the glory S. Gupta established a foundation (L. 26) perhaps in the still existing Vishnu temple. Funeral Scene on the freeze of the temple interprets Vakataka king's cremation who was defeated and slain (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 140-41.)

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According to Fleet,[32] Jayadeva I introduced the Gupta Era in Nepal. He was a Lichchavi king and a relation of Samudra Gupta. His submission meant rhe submission of the whole group of Himalayan States.

Samudra Gupta seems to have later on annexed Champa to Samatata in order to facilitate the administration of Orissa and Kalinga and the sea trade with neigbhouring countries.[33]

According to line 23 of the Inscription, Samudra Gupta's re-establishment of many fallen dynasties resulted in the submission of Daivaputra—Shahis—Shahnu—Shahi—Saka—Marundas which, to quote Dr. Jayaswal, "completes the imperial geography of the North-West Kashmir".[34]

*Feudatory Tribal States* : *Group I* : Nine Feudatory tribal states presumably on the frontier are also mentioned by the Inscription with Mālavas, Arjuneyānas, Yaudheyas and Madrakas forming the first group.[35]

Mālavas migrated from the Punjab and having fought with Alexander on the banks of lower Ravi, settled in various localities in western India. By Samudra Gupta's time, they had probably settled in south-east Rajputana, Tonk and Kotah. Yaudheyas lived in Johiyabar along both the banks of the Sutlej on the borders of Bahawalpur state, and their dominion once extended upto almost Kangra in the north, Saharanpur in the east and Bharatpur in the south. Madrakas occupied the territory between Ravi and Chenab with their capital at Sakala (Sialkot). The Territory of Arjuneyānas cannot be located with certainty but it is generally believed to be near Jaipur.[36]

*Deccan* : The most daring exploit of Samudra Gupta was his expedition to the south. The kings of twelve states of Dakshinapatha (Deccan and South India) were defeated, captured and then liberated : Mahendra of Kosala, Vyaghrarāja of Māhākantāra, Maṇ trarāja of Kaurala (Kerala), Mahendragiri of Pishtapura,

32 Fleet, C.I.I., p. 135; I.A., XIV 345 (350).

33 K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 145.

34 A.I., line 23, K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 145.

35 A.I., line 22. This line which has named kings brought directly under the control of Samudra Gupta has purposely excluded these feudatory states. Perhaps they were internal states and had become part of Gupta emperor's empire by paying all kinds of Imperial taxes and obeying imperial orders (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 147).

36 Cl. Age, pp. 8-9; Vak-Gupta Age, pp. 142-43; R.C. Tripathi, P.B.I., pp. 182-88; K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 134-35; 147-48.

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Svamidatta of Kottura, Demana of Erandapalla, Vishnugopa of Kanchi, Nilaraja of Avamukta, Hastivarman of Vengi, Ugrasena of Palakka, Kuvera of Devarashtra and Dhanamjaya of Kusthalapura.[37] Only these twelve are named by the Allahabad Inscription although it says that Samudra Gupta defeated all the kings of the south (Sarvadakshina patharajah).

*Independent and Semi-independent States*: Saka and Kuṣana rulers of north-west India acknowledged the suzerainty of Samudra Gupta, according to Dr. R.C. Majumdar. There are many interpretations about the form of homage they paid to Samudra Gupta. It all depends whether Harisena wrote of the actual state of affairs in his praśasti or used a boastful rhetoric. The Kuṣana type of coins bearing the names Samudra and Chandra do indicate Samudra Gupta's suzerainty over Kuṣanas.[38] In any case, it is reasonable to believe that Sakas and Kuṣanas had political or friendly relations and even matrimonial alliances (atma nivedana and kanya payanadana)—two forms of homage mentioned in the inscription—with Samudra Gupta.

*Feudatory Tribal States* : *Group II*: The second group of feudatory tribal states were of Abhiras, Prarjunas, Sanakanikas, Kakas and Karaparikas.[39]

Abhiras are mentioned in the Puraṇas[40] as belonging to Sauraṣtra and Avanti. The Vakataka history speaks of Abhira republics in western Malwa. Abhiras occupied Gujarat in the time of Periplus. Dr. Jayaswal[41] has challenged Smith's location of Abhiras in Bundelkhand, and Dr. Tripathi[42] puts them in Ahilwara between Parvati and Betva rivers in central India. The capital of Prajanas has been located in Narasimhpur or Narsingharh in central India.[43] Sanakanikas and Kakas belonged to areas near about Vidisa : their

37 Allahabad inscriptions, line 19.
Dakshenapatha campaign was a move against Vakataka power.

38 JRAS. 1893, p. 145.

39 A.I., Line 22. None of them struck any coins before Samudra Gupta perhaps because they were under Vakataka Governor of Western Malwa of Mandhata (Mahishmati) and under the Nagas of Padamavati (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 148).

40 Bhagavat Purana calls the Abhiras as 'Saurashtra' and Avantya. Vishnu Puraṇa, mentions them as occupying Saurashtra and Avanti Provinces.

41 K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 148-49.

42 R.C. Tripathi, P.B.I., p. 186.

43 R.C. Tripathi, P.B.I., p. 186.

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town was modern Kakpur situated within 20 miles of Vidiṣa.[44] Kharparikas were perhaps the residents of Damoh in Central India: Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar[45] has identified them with Karparas of the Batisgarh inscription.

*Further India* : The Allahabad Inscription says the kings of Simhala and other Islands surrendered to Samudra Gupta ("Simhalaka adhibhis che sarva dvipa—vasibhih atmanivedana").[46] They presented beautiful girls (kanya payanadana) and garuḍas (garuṭmaṅadana) as tokens of surrender and accepted his headship (svavishayabhukti sasana achan adyupaya seva krita).

This is described as uniting by his power the whole earth within his two arms (bahu virya prasara dharani bhandhasyaprithivyama partivathasya). Here, the dvipas mean the islands of further India.[47]

Bharat beyond the seas was part of Bharatavarsha and comprised of Nava Khanda or nine divisions. This was first recognised in the works of astronomers Parasara and Varahamihira[48] and later adopted by the writers of puraṇas such as Markandeya, Vishnu, Vayu, and Matsya. The Brihat Samhita of Varahamihira and these puraṇas give substantially the same list of, but differently arranged, Nava Khandas. Brahmanda and Markandeya puraṇas also give the names of the districts in each of the nine divisions. Vishnu, Vayu and Matsya puraṇas describe, like Mahabharata, only the five divisions, namely, the middle province and the provinces of

44 K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 148 adds 'the Sanchi hill was called Kaknala'. J.B.O.R.S., XVIII, 213.

45 R.C. Tripathi, P.B.I., p. 186. IHQ. I., 1925, p. 258.

46 Line 23 (Shāhanshahi or states description).

47 The inclusion of all Islands in the inscription puts their kings in the category of vassal states, though there is no mention of any other name. As even before the Gupta Malaya peninsula, Java, Sumatra and other islands of Indian Ocean were already known to Indians, it is just possible that the Paraśasti may be referring to them. It is also possible that some of them sought to maintain close relations with such a powerful king as Samudra Gupta, e.g. Ceylon king Meghvahana built a monastery for the residence of Buddhist pilgrims in Bodh Gaya with Gupta emperor's permission. The Chinese writer Wang-hiuen writes that the king of Ceylon sent an embassy with gifts to seek this permission (Please see Ch. IX of this work).

48 Dr. Kern, pref. to 'Brihat samhita of Varah-mihira', p. 32 states that Varaha's chapter on Geography "is taken almost intact but changed in form from the 'Prasaratantra' and must therefore be considered as representing the geography of Parasara or perhaps yet more ancient works and not as actual map of India in Varah-mihiras time" (Cunningham, Anc. Geography, ft. n. 6).

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the four cardinal points in detail.[49] The nine divisions are named by Mahabharata and the Puraṇas differently from Varahamihira but in agreement with Astronomer Bhaskarācharya[50] (Siddhanta Siromani, III.41).

Puraṇas[51] say Bharatavarsha comprised of nine dvipas including itself, the other eight being Indra, Keseru, Tamraparṇi, Gabhatman, Naga, Soumya, Gandharva and Varuṇa dvipas. All the nine are interconnected by trade relations and the inhabitants of all are Bharat Praja.

49 Cunningham, Anc. Geog., pp. 7, 8.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 8.
Vayu Puraṇa, I (Bhuvan Vinyas), 1-14, p. 339 ft.

51 Matsya Puraṇa (Bareli Ed.), I. 50, p. 376 ff.
Matsya Puraṇa (Calcutta Ed.), Bharat-varsha Varnan, Ch. 113. 1-14, 15, pp. 389ff.

यदिदं भारतवर्ष यस्मिन् स्वायन्भुवादय: ।
चतुर्दशैव मानव: प्रजासर्गे भवन्त्युत ॥
अत्र वो वर्णयिष्यामि वर्षेऽस्मिन् भारतेप्रजा ॥5।
उत्तरं यत् समुद्रस्य हिमवद्दक्षिणं च यत् ।
वर्षं यद्भारतं नाम यत्रेयं भारती प्रजा ॥ 6 ।
भरणोश्च प्रजाना वै मनुभर्रत उच्यते ।
निरुक्त वचनश्चैव वर्ष तद् भारत स्मृतम् ॥ 7 ।
न खल्वन्यत्र मर्त्यानां भूमौ कर्मविधि स्मृत: कर्म विधियते ॥ 8 ।
भारतेस्यास्य वर्षस्य नव भेदा प्रकीर्तता: ।
समुद्रान्तरिताज्ञेयास्ते त्वगम्या: परस्परम् ॥ 9 ।
इन्द्रद्वीप कसेरूश्च ताम्रपर्णी गभस्तिमान् ।
नागद्वीपस्तथा सौम्यो गन्धर्वस्वथ वरुण: ॥ 10 ।
अयन्तु नवभेदास्तेषां दीप: सागर संवृत: ।
योजनानां सहस्त्रं तु द्वीपोऽयं दक्षिणोतरम् ।
यस्त्वयं मानवो द्वीपस्तिर्य्गयाम: प्रकीर्तित: ॥ 15 ।

Matsya and Vayu, both the Puraṇas have preserved most of the original matter. Vayu Puraṇa is quoted in Harshacharitam by Baṇa. So it must have existed between 3rd to 5th Century A.D. Matsya Puraṇa is dated 6th-7th Century A.D., while some of its portion may have been added as late as 1000 A.D. or even later (Cl. A., pp. 293-95,298).

According to Mahabharata Simhale (Ceylon) and Hindu dvipas were the parts of Indian Empire of the Hindu Samrāts (M. Bh. XXXI. 73-74). So it is difficult to ascertain whether the Puraṇas maintained the tradition of reference or are the real records without exaggeration.

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It can be taken that the Bharatavarsha of both the Allahabad Inscription and the Puraṇas comprised of the islands and covered the larger seas. All the dvipas were to the east as indicated by the situation of one of them, Tamraparṇi.

Indradvipa[52] is identified with Burma and Keseru with Malaya. (A Fourth Century pillar with an inscription[53] by Mahanāvika-Navigator Budha Gupta of Eastern India in the modern Wellsley district of Malaya proves that the peninsula was known to Indians of the Gupta age.) Tamraparṇi[54] is the old name of Ceylon. Aṣoka's Rock Edict 13 names Kamboja and Tamraparṇi along with several trade routes. Nagadvipa[55] is Nicobar Island. According to an inscription of Prakasadharma (Saka 579), Cambodia or Indo-China was inhabited by Nagas. Kaundinya,[56] a Brahman of India the land of Drona's son Asvathama, married the daughter of the King of Nagas and established an unbroken Hinduised line of kings in Champa.

Gabhistiman (Island of the Sun) or Gandharvadvipa is Gandhara [57] Yuan-Chwang has described it as the boarderland of barbarians who were Indians in culture and religion (that is, Buddhism). It was

Dvipa has been derived by Panini as dvi+ap i.e. land having water on two of its sides. It is not identical with 'island' it includes peninsulas and sometimes doabs also (Cunningham, Anc. Geog., p. 751).

52 Cunningham, Anc. Geog. (1924), p. 75.

53 Kern, Verspreide Geschriften III (1915), p. 255, quoted by Cunningham vide Anc. Geog., p. 752 ft.n.

54 Ceylon was called Sieldiva (Simhaladvipa) by the Indians and Taprobane (Tamarparṇi) by the Greeks [Cosmos XI, pp. 363-65].
According to Mahavaṁsa, Tamarparṇi port of Ceylon had its earth of Tamba (metal) colour. Here prince Vijay and his followers when sat to rest, their hands were coloured (Tamba Paṇi) and hence the name (Mahabaṁsa (H), pp. 42-43).

55 Gerini, Ptolemy's Geography, pp. 379-383.
(Quoted by K.P. Jayaswal, p. 155, ft. note 3).
The Dvipa may have been named because of its pre-Hindu inhabitants—Nagas.

56 R.C. Majumdar, Champa II. 18, 23.
तत्रस्थापित वञ्छूलं कौण्डिन्यस्तद्विजर्षभः अश्वत्थाम्नो द्विजं श्रेष्ठात् द्रोणमुत्रादयाप्यतं । (Insc. XVI. 24)
कुलासीत् भुजगेन्द्र कन्या सोमेतिसा वंशकरी पृथिव्याम् । XVII. 25.
तदन्यवच्छेदि विशुद्ध वंश परम्परो पात्तं नृपत्व जन्मा । (XIX).

57 तदां तक्षशिलायां तु पुष्कलं पुष्कलावते, गन्धर्वदेशे रुचिरे गान्धार विषयचसः । (Ramayana, Uttarkanda) CXIV. II.
अथ गान्धर्व विषयः फलमूलोप शोभितः, सिन्धोरुभयतः पार्श्वे देशः परमशोभनः ।
तं च रक्षान्ते गन्धर्वः सायुधः युद्धकोविद् (Ramayana, Uttarkanda), CXIII., 10,11,

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considered a separate dvipa, not part of India,[58] and its inhabitants are referred to in Ramayana as experts (kovid) in warfare (yudh).

*Aṣvamedha Yajña*: Like many kings earlier from the time of Pushyamitra, Samudra Gupta performed the Horse Sacrifice after conquering most of India. To commemorate the Aṣvamedha Yajña, he issued gold coins bearing the figure of the sacrificial horse on one side and the inscription, "Aṣvamedha Parakramah", on the other. A seal bearing a horse and the legend "Parakrama"—now at the Lucknow Museum—also marks Samudra Gupta's Aṣvamedha.[59]

Samudra Gupta by his versatile genius, diplomacy, statesmanship and valour conquered the vast portion of India and established a strong centre which ruthlessly crushed all disrupting forces. He also maintained diplomatic relations with countries beyond India.

Besides conquest and direct control of conquered territories, he exacted from protected territories three forms of submission—Atmanivadena or surrender, kanya upayana or presentation of unmarried girls and giving of daughters in marriage, and Garuṭmadaṅka Svavishya Bhukti Sasana-Yachana or enjoyment of own territories with permission to issue Garuda coins.[60]

The Allahabad Inscription, refers to his permanent conquests in lines 9 and 11 (Samgrameshu Svabhuja Vijita Nityam), says how the

58 Cunningham, Anc. Geography, p. 753. Gabhastimat, Naga and Sommya are to be located in S.W., W. and N.W. We have Laccadive, Maladive or Emaculam in the S.W., Salsette and Kathiawar in the W. and Cutch in the N.W. (Cunninghan, Anc. Geography, pp. 753-54).
Saumya and Varuṇa may be representing Archipelago (Sumatra, Borneo etc.).

59 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 161.
Mathura Stone Inscription of Chandra Gupta II.
P.H.A.I., pp. 547-48.
J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 102.
Bayana hoard contained twenty Aṣvamedha coins (Coinage in Anc. India, p. 161).
Fleet, I.C.C. Insc. No. 12, lines 16, 19 (Aṣvamedha krttuh—Sam-udra Gupta).

60 Bihar Stone Pillar Inscription, L. 16 tells that Samudra Gupta revived Aṣvamedha Yajña (Fleet, C.I.I., p. 51, Insc. No. 12).
Kuṣana subordinate kings of Western Punjab, printed the effigy of Samudra Gupta and his name on the coins. This practice continued upto the time of Chandra Gupta II. (J.B.O.R.S. XVIII, 208-9).
The Kuṣana—subordinates of Kashmir, Rawalpindi and Peshawar, adopted the Gupta Coinage and practically were a part of Gupta empire (K.P. Jayaswal, p. 146).
Kanyadana, giving a daughter in marriage is different from Upayana (presenting) a girl.

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pride of the vanquished were mortified (Uchch apakarah svh s'vo manapra), asserts some kings and people were very happy to witness his immortal deeds (Drishtva Karmany Anekanyamanuja Sadrisany Adbhut Odbhinnaharsha) and describes how other vanquished persons paid homage to him (Viryyottpas Che Kechich Chharanam Upgata Vasya Vritte Praname-py-art).

The Iran Stone Inscription (L. 21) tells us that "his deeds in battle inspired by prowess made him famous far and wide" (Samara...Parakrameddham Yasah Su Vipulam).

In the end, the subjugated as well as the protected were happy and contented (Tosh Ottungaih Sphuto Bahu Rasa Sneha Phullair Manobhih Paschattapam Va (broken) ma (m ?) Sy (advasa ? nta (m)...?).

Dr. R.C. Majumdar writes : "He (Samudra Gupta) did not follow the Kautilyan policy of establishing one imperial sway over all and tried to annex frontier kingdoms like East Bengal, Assam and Nepal, which were hard to conquer and still harder to retain, like the Muslim and British rulers of India were to realise at a later stage.[61]

**Rama Gupta**

Samudra Gupta was succeeded by his son Rama Gupta.

Rama Gupta was in such a tight corner in a battle that he agreed to surrender his wife, Dhruvadevi, to the Saka king he was fighting with. Chandra Gupta, his younger brother, could not reconcile himself to this dishonour and went in the guise of Dhruvadevi and killed the Saka king. This won for Chandra Gupta not only public applause and honour but admiration of Dhruvadevi. It led to jealousy among the brothers and murder of Rama Gupta and marriage of Dhruvadevi with Chandra Gupta.

This story is based on the play Devi Chandra Gupta by Visakhadatta, scattered references in Baṇa's Harsha Charitam, the Cambay plates and the Kavya Mimaṁsa. Indian and foreign historians have discussed its authenticity but more records are needed for a definite conclusion about the historical character of Rama Gupta and his eventful reign.[62]

61 Vak-Gupta Age, pp. 152-53.

62 The Cl. Age, pp. 17-18; Vak. Gup. Age, pp. 161-65.
Dr. Altekar points that certain coins found in Malwa clearly bear the name of Ram Gupta. Still the controversy is there (Coinage in Anc. India, p. 151).

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## Chandra Gupta II (380-414)

Chandra Gupta was the son of Samudra Gupta by Mahadevidattadevi.[63] (Maharajādhirāja Sri Samudra Guptayaputras Tat Parigṛahito Mahadevyam Dutta Devyam Utpannah). Whether or not Rama Gupta ascended the throne after Samudra Gupta, Chandra Gupta was the next important ruler after Samudra Gupta. He is generally placed between 375 and 412 A.D.[64] but Dr. Ray Chaudhari[65] would have him between 380 and 414 A.D.

Chandra Gupta inherited the military genius of his father alongwith a kingdom that almost touched the borders of the saka kingdom. His first military achievement was against the rebellious Bengal and the Kuṣanas. He did not annex western Punjab but allowed Kuṣana chiefs to rule as his feudatories.[66]

Chandra Gupta's forceful offensive against Saka kṣatrapas of Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar is alluded to in Udaigiri (Bhilsa) and Sanchi Inscriptions. The emperor, it seems, took advantage of internal dissensions and intrigues of rival candidates after Rudrasena III (360-380) to completely defeat his chief Saka opponent. This placed Gujarat and Kathiawar Peninsula under Guptas, ending three hundred years of foreign domination.[67] Coins were issued as testimony to the annexation of the Saka territory. Baṇa also refers to the fall of the Saka Satrap.

The conquest of Gujarat and Kathiawar not only added to the already extensive Gupta Empire but gave it an opening to the sea. The possession of important ports and harbours increased the empire's trade and commerce with the outside world and brought in vast wealth.

The famous Iron pillar near Qutab Minar in Delhi praises a king, Chandra, for leading military expeditions beyond the eastern as well

63 Bhitri Stone Inscription, line 4. Bihar Stone pillar Insc. No. 12, lines 19-21 also Record this (Fleet, C.I.I., p. 50).

64 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 151.

65 P.H.A.I., p. 554.

66 Coinage in Ancient India, p. 151.

67 R.C. Majumdar, Ancient India, p. 235.
P.H.A.I., p. 555.
Udaigiri cave inscription is of Virsena-Saka, a minister in-charge of peace and war department of Chandra Gupta II. As alluded to in the inscription the minister had accompanied the king to Malwa. Eastern Malwa, which had already felt the domination of S. Gupta became the base of operation against Sakas. Sanchi inscription seconds Eastern Malwa being a place of gathering of ministers, generals and feudatories.

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as western frontiers of his empire : "The king defeated a confederacy of hostile chiefs in Vanga and, crossing the seven mouths of River Sindhu, conquered Vahilkas." One of the Udaigiri inscriptions also refers to it. This Chandra is probably Chandra Gupta II; Vanga denotes Eastern Bengal and Vahilka is identified with Balkh (Bactria) beyond the Hindukush mountains.[68]

*Matrimonial Alliances* had a prominent place in the foreign policy of Guptas. Except for the conquest of Saka satrap, the military achievements of Chandra Gupta II are all presumed. But he certainly maintained very good relations with the powerful ruling families of the time.

Guptas had strong relations with Bihar because of Chandra Gupta I's marriage with the Lichchavi princess. Samudra Gupta's acceptance of girls in marriage and as presents from Saka-Kusana chiefs and other foreign potentates wiped off enemity between the victor and the vanquished. Chandra Gupta II married Kuver Naga, a Naga princess, and gave his daughter from this Naga queen to the Vakataka king, Rudrasena II, in marriage. These marriages were deliberately arranged to strengthen Gupta Empire's frontiers on which Nagas and Vakatakas held strategic positions.

With the marriage, Vakatakas offered Guptas a secure subordinate alliance.

According to the Talgund Inscription, Kakustha Varman the Kadamba ruler of Kuntala (Karnataka) married his daughter in the powerful Gupta family in the Fifth Century.[69] It is possible that the groom was Chandra Gupta himself. Bhoja and Kṣemendra refer to an embassy by Vikramaditya to Kuntala.[70]

**Kumara Gupta I (c. 414-455)**

Chandra Gupta II was succeeded by his son Kumara Gupta[71] in c. 414. A large number of inscriptions and coins of Kumara Gupta's

68 V.A. Smith, E.H.I., p. 254.
R.C. Majumdar, Anc. India, p. 234; Vak. Gupta Age, pp. 165-69, 44; Cl. Age, pp. 18-21. There is no other king Chandra who could even attempt the conquest of places beyond India.

69 E.I., VIII, 33ff (Talgund Inscription).
I.H.Q. 1933, 197 ff.

70 Proceedings of the 3rd Oriental Conference 1924, p. 6 vide P.H.A.I., ft. n. 1, p. 555, and ft. n. 2, p. 564.

71 Fleet, C.I.I., No. 12.
He is called Kumar Gupta on Gold and Copper coins of Garuḍa and possibly

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reign are available but none record any military campaign by him to extend the Empire. The inscriptions record the names of certain governors and feudatory kings, showing that he kept the extensive empire of his father and grandfather intact and gave it a good administration.

The close of Kumara Gupta's reign was marked by wars with 'Pushyamitras'. As the Bhitri Pillar Inscription[72] is the only source of our knowledge of this, it is difficult to say whether 'Pushyamitras' belonged to south India or were some other invaders. What is certain is that Kumara Gupta's son, Skanda Gupta, defeated them and restored peace in the country and honour to his father.[73]

This made Skanda Gupta popular. "We are told, "R.C. Majumdar writes, "that songs of praise in honour of Skanda Gupta were sung in all directions by men, women and even children. In the midst of this great triumph, the aged emperor Kumara Gupta breathed his last and Skanda Gupta, the hero of the nation, succeeded him in 455 A.D."[74]

Kumara Gupta performed Aṣvamedha Yajña and issued Aṣvamedha type gold coins which show that he adopted the title Mahendraditya.

He issued gold, silver and silver-plated coins.[75] The coins depict him as a very tolerant king in whose land Budha, Siva (in linga form), Sun and Visṇu were all worshipped. His gold coins were of a new type, depicting Kartikeya riding on a peacock on one side and the king feeding the peacock on the other side. This substitution of peacock for the usual garuḍa would indicate he was a worshipper of God Kartikeya.

The silver-plated coins he was compelled to issue in the home

on Simha Vahini type only. The title Mahendraditya with the epithet of Param Bhataraka is found on Silver Coins. His silver currency was free from Kśtrapa influence (Coinage in Anc. India, p. 152).

He is called Ajita Mahendra on Horseman type and, Lion Slayer type coins, Sri Mahendra on Archer type coins, Sri Mahendra Simha, Simha Mahendra, Simha Vikrama on Lion-slayer-type Coins (Allen's Gupta Coins, p. 80).

72 Bhitri Stone Inscription, lines 10, 11.

73 P H.A.I., pp. 567-70.
Vak-Gup. Age, pp. 174-75.
Bhitri Stone Inscription, L. 14.
(Vanśam pratishthapya yo bahubhujam).

74 R.C. Majumdar, Anc. India, p. 237.

75 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 152-153.

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province and in western India[76] are indicative of the great strain put on the treasury by his struggle with the Pushyamitras.

**Skanda Gupta (c. 455-467)**

Skanda Gupta had to face hostile brothers before coming to the throne after the death of Kumara Gupta. The rightful heir was Puru Gupta, son of Kumara Gupta by Mahadevi Anantadevi, but Skanda Gupta was the hero of the nation, having defeated the enemies by his prowess as indicated by the Bhitri Stone Inscription[77] (Bhuja Bala Vijit Arir).

The inscription speaks of the happiness of his mother over this victory (It paritoshan Mataram) but, as observed by Dr. R.C. Majumdar, the omission of her name indicates that she was not the chief queen of Kumara Gupta and that Skanda Gupta had no natural claim to the throne.

Skanda Gupta, in the second line of his Junagarh Inscription, records that "the goddess of sovereignty and splendour (Lakshmi) of her own accord selected him as her husband (Svayam Varyam Chakkara) having discorded the other princes (manujendra putra)". The same idea is probably portrayed in one of Skanda Gupta's coins which shows a female figure (Lakshmi) stands before the king and offers him what looks like a fillet.[78]

Skanda Gupta routed the enemies and stabilised the tottering dynasty (Vichalita Kula Lakshmi Stambanay).[79] He defeated the Hunas[80] (Yam Pra (?) Payaty aryya tam Hunair); so he was considered the fittest to rule. Arya Manjuśri Mula Kalpa[81] also refers to

76 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 153.

77 Fleet, C.I.I., No. 12.
Bhitri Stone Inscription, Text 12.
The inscription does not refer to any war with his brothers, but it indicates Skanda Gupta's fight with the enemies of the Gupta family. Perhaps, Kumar Gupta died while Skanda Gupta was still fighting with the Pushyamitras.
Bihar Stone pillar Insc. 12 records. Maharajādhirāja Śri Kumar Gupta a puttras-tat-pad-anudhyatah, param bhagvato Maharajādhirāja Śri Skanda Gupta (lines 22 and 23).

78 Lakshmi type Coins. Allen's Gupta Coins XCIX; Coinage in Anc. India, p. 153.

79 Bhitri Stone Inscription, 10.

80 *Ibid.*, I. 15.

81 Vol. III. ed by Ganpati Śastri, p. 627.

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Skanda Gupta ascending the throne after Kumar Gupta. No record refers to his fight with his brothers.

The Junagarh Inscription speaks of his fight with the Mlechchas:

| | |
|---|---|
| "Api Cha jitam eva ten prathayamti Yasms Yasya ripavepi amulya bhagna darpa niva Mlechcha deseshu"[82] | "Even the pride of his enemies was shaken to the roots in the countries of Mlechchas who declared, 'Verily Victory has been achieved by Him'." |

Mlechchas—whether they were Huṇas as identified by many historians or some other tribe—were completely defeated by Skanda Gupta, the inscription says.

Huṇas had, according to Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun, settled beyond the Indus two generations before Skanda Gupta and were probably these Mlechchas. The Bhitri Stone Inscription[83] refers to Huṇas who were defeated in a fierceful battle which "created a terrible whirlpool and it looked as if the whole world was shaken. The enemy felt that the Ganges was roaring when the rain of arrows from the sides darted through" (Nandyo ti nabhi (?) shu lakshyata iva srotreshu Ganga dhvanih).

The Junagarh Inscription[84] refers in the first line to the puranic myth of Bali-Indra-Vishnu and exalts Vishnu. A beautiful example of the highly developed Sanskrit prose and poetry, the inscription echoes the successful war of Emperor Skanda Gupta against the Huṇas. The national calamity had indeed eclipsed the past glory of Guptas but then had not even Visṇu according to the myth stay for a few months in heaven and a few months in "Patal" the nether world ? The heroic achievement against the barbarous and cruel Hunas justifies the title of Kramaditya and Vikaramaditya for Skanda Gupta.[85]

Skanda Gupta probably had to fight Vakatakas after the Huṇas (Mlechchas). The Junagarh Inscription speaks of the king's worry over the appointment of a guardian in Saurashtra and his choice of

82 Junagarh Inscription, Text 2.
83 Bhitri Stone Inscription, Text 15.
84 Junagarh Rock Inscription, Vishnu and Bali Story } Appendix (A).
85 The epithet Kramaditya is found on certain beauty Archer type gold coins and the more famous Vikramaditya on Altar type silver coins [PHAI, p. 577, ft. n. 4].

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Parnadatta after much deliberation. It describes in line 24 Skanda Gupta as Sakalavanipateh Rajadhirajya. It can be reasonably concluded that he maintained the empire of his ancestors, but the calamity of the bursting of Sudarshana Lake after excessive rains during the last days of his reign seems to have a great setback to Skanda Gupta's plans and schemes. The Inscription mentions the calamity in lines 15 and 17. The lake was repaired with a great effort.[86]

The king was a great devotee of Viṣnu. The Bhitri Stone Inscription records the installation of a Viṣnu image. Skanda Gupta continued his forefather's policy of tolerance: The Kahaun Inscription (460-461) was by a Brahman who erected a Jaina temple. The Indore Plates refer to a Brahman who dedicated a lamp to the Sun Temple.

Successive wars and calamities seem to have weakened the economy and gold coins issued by Skanda Gupta are not only smaller than his silver coins but are all of a single type. There was a depreciation in the purity of gold as well.[87]

**Puru Gupta (c. 467-469)**

Puru Gupta was a brother and successor of Skanda Gupta.[88] He possibly had to wage a war of succession to the throne, but he did rule the country and kept the Gupta dynasty in line.[89]

After Skanda Gupta's death, the already tottering West separated. But the imperial sway of Guptas continued over major portions of central and western India into the latter part of the Fifth Century and lingered on to the Sixth and Seventh centuries,[90] epigraphic records

86 Parnadatta's son Chakrapalita restored the embankment of Sudershna lake at Girnar in 457-8 A.D. [P.H.A.I., p. 580].

Two inscriptions engraved on the Girnar hills near Junagarh record the history of Sudershna Lake. It was constructed by Chandra Gupta Maurya. It was first repaired by Saka Satrap Rudradaman I in 150 A.D. Second time it burst during the days of Skanda Gupta (R.C. Majumdar, Anc. India, p. 238).

87 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 178.

88 P.H.A.I., p. 586.
Coinage in Anc. India, p. 153.

89 Cl. Age., p. 29.

90 Probably Ghatokaca Gupta, perhaps a brother of Skanda Gupta who was the Governor of Malwa in 435 A.D. declared himself independent during the struggle for throne which, followed the death of Skanda Gupta's successors. (Coinage in Anc. India, p 153).

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and literary evidence show. The names of kings and the dates of events cannot however be determined definitely.

Puru Gupta seems to have been succeeded by his son, Narasimha Gupta Baladitya. When Baladitya died in 473, Kumar Gupta II, his son by Mitradevi,[91] came to the throne. There is controversy over their turn and dates and the reign of each was short. Together, the three kings ruled for less than ten years between 467 and 477 A.D.[92]

Kumara Gupta II issued more gold coins than any other successor of Skanda Gupta.[93] Two varieties of Archer type coins of Narasiṁha Gupta and his successors were intended for circulation in the lower Gangetic valley and the upper provinces.[94]

Arya Manjuśri Mula Kalpa vouches that eastern India was within the dominion of Narasiṁha Gupta and Kumara Gupta II.[95]

**Budha Gupta (c. 476-495 A.D.)**

Budha Gupta is known to be Puru Gupta's son. There are six records[96] to prove that he ruled for about 20 years. Inscriptions say he had an extensive empire stretching from Bengal to Malwa and including central India. There is however no evidence that Gujarat and Kathiawar peninsula were under him as they were under Skanda Gupta. The records of Maitraka dynasty of Vallabhi also indicate that the Gupta power, though on decline, remained over these areas. Budha Gupta's last known date is 495 but a reading of coin symbol 108 would indicate he lived up to the year 500.[97] An uncertainty however attaches to this date.[98]

91 P.H.A.I., pp. 588-9.
R.K. Mukerji, Gupta Emp., p. 101ff.

92 Vak-Gupta Age, p. 185.
P.H.A.I., p. 591.

93-94 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 154.

95 Dr. Altekar suggests Kumar Gupta II continued to rule though Budha Gupta came to power in 476 A.D. The empire was divided and the major portion was ruled by Budha Gupta and a very minor part remained with Kumar Gupta II (Coinage in Anc. India, p. 154).
Manju Sri Mula Kalpa (Ed. Ganpati), p. 630.

96 Copper-plate inscriptions of Damodarpur and Dinajpur District, Sarnath inscription of 476-77 A.D., Benaras Inscription of 479 A.D., Dhvaja Stamba in honour of Janardhana of 484-85 A.D. and the coins of this emperor dated C. 495 A.D.

97 Vak. Gup. Age, pp. 110, 186.

98 I.A. XIV. 68.

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**Budha Gupta's Successors**

There seems to have been a struggle for the throne after Budha Gupta. Inscriptions speak of a Vainya Gupta in 506 A.D. and a Bhanu Gupta in 510-511 A.D.

An inscription in Iran describes Bhanu Gupta as the bravest man on earth. The famous battle fought by him was probably against Toramaṇa, the Huṇ leader. The inscription says he was accompanied by a feudatory chief named Goparaja who died and whose wife performed sati. R.C. Majumdar is of the opinion that the small pillar which records all this and worshipped as a sivalinga may be regarded as a memorial Sati pillar.[99]

It is difficult to explain the appearance of Vainya Gupta and Bhanu Gupta simultaneously as neither of them is recognised by the official geneology, according to which a third king, Narasimha Gupta, was ruling about the same time. Narasimha Gupta is supposed to have assumed the title of Baladitya and ascended the throne after Budha Gupta. It is possible that Narasimha Gupta ascended the throne after both Budha Gupta and Vainya Gupta were dead, and may be given credit for administering a crushing defeat to the Huṇa chief Mihirakula, son of Toramaṇa.

The reign of these three kings roughly covers the period, between 506 and 535 A.D.

Narasiṁha Gupta was succeeded by his son, Kumara Gupta III and grandson, Vishnu Gupta. The two ruled between 535 and 570 A.D.

The continued debasement of the coins show there was a speedy decline of the Gupta empire.[100] The inscriptions of chiefs like Maukharis and later Guptas refer to battles and chaos everywhere in this period.[101]

**Causes of the Downfall of the Gupta Empire**

*Internal*: Downfall of the Gupta Empire began with the death of Budha Gupta. There were wars of succession in one or the other part of the Empire and led to its partition. The faulty land system also contributed to the degeneration of the Empire. During their

99 Vak. Gup. Age, p. 190.
100 The Cl. Age, pp. 33-34.
101 Vak-Gup. Age, p. 202.

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heydays, Gupta kings retained the lands of the vanquished kings but returned the land revenue to them. They made also extensive land grants to Brahmans, scholars and institutions. The kings therefore lost direct touch with the cultivators. The immediate masters became important. Many independent states rose, with feudatory chiefs as well as high officials declaring themselves independent kings, when the central power became weak.

The most important of these was Yaśodharman, perhaps a relative of the feudatory chief of Malwa. He probably belonged to the Aulikara family of feudal chiefs who were under Guptas in the middle of the Fifth Century. The Mandasor Inscriptions, engraved in duplicate on two pillars, say Yasodharman's sway extended from the Himalayas in the north to Mahendra mountains in the south, from River Brahmaputra in the east to the ocean in the west. It is said that he extended his sway over countries unconquered by Guptas and that even Huṇas touched his feet.

The description of Yasodharman as the conqueror of the universe is a hyperbole but he did defeat Mihirakula and freed Malwa and adjoining territories from the Huns. The exact limits of his empire have not been determined. He rose and fell between 534 and 540, "and his empire perished with him".

Shortly after the great coup of Yasodharman, many feudatory chiefs established powerful principalities in the heart of India. Of these, Maukharis and later Guptas were the more powerful.

Two branches of Maukharis ruled as feudatory chiefs of Guptas in Bihar and in U.P. Like Maukharis, the later Guptas were feudatories of Gupta Emperors and became independent rulers around the middle of the Sixth Century. About the same time, during the rule of Vainya Gupta in 506-7, the South and East Bengal shook off the suzerainty of Guptas.

Maukharis perhaps defeated Gauda (West Bengal). The later Guptas also fought against the same enemies on the sea-board.

Thus, constant war between the newly declared independent states within the Empire became the rule. Then followed long and vain struggle by individual military geniuses to re-establish the empire that had fallen from the grasp of Guptas. Perhaps Yasodharman was killed in such a fight after initial successes.

The Gupta Emperors were all in a state of continuous warfare sometimes to extend their empire and other times to suppress revolts. Kumara Gupta I and his son, Skanda Gupta, waged a non-stop war against the Pushyamitra tribe and the Hunas. With the treasury left

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weak by them their successors could not carry on the administration efficiently.

Finding the central authority weak, the distant states of Kanauj, Vallabhi and Malwa first declared independence. Other chiefs and feudatories then declared independence, breaking the empire into small states and personalities.[102]

Meanwhile, the main stage of political history shifted to Deccan and the South where Chalukyas and Pallavas established powerful kingdoms which endured for long.

By the Seventh century, India was under Harsha Vardhana in the north, Chalukya King Pulakesin in the Deccan and Pallava Rulers Mahendra Verman I and Narasiṁha Varman I in the south. The period was marked by constant warfare among the three political rivals. Harsha Vardhana was defeated by Pulakesin and forced to abandon the aspiration to conquer Deccan. The Chalukya king also defeated Mahendra Varman I but Narasimha Varman avenged the defeat of his father and turned the tables completely. The struggle continued until the Tenth Century when Cholas emerged as the masters of the south.[103]

The history of later Guptas, feudatories of Gupta Emperors, who asserted independence in the first half of the Sixth Century, is also obscure. The Aphsad Inscription near Gaya gives the geneology of the first few kings of the dynasty: Krishna Gupta, Harsh Gupta, Jivat Gupta, Kumara Gupta, Damodara Gupta, Mahasena Gupta, Madhava Gupta and Adityasena. No royal title is given to any of them except Krishna Gupta who is called "Nripa". Jivat Gupta is said to have bound within his arms the land from the Himalayas to the seas.

*External*: Huṇas, nomad savages living on the borders of China, invaded India in the First Century of the Christian Era in pursuit of their quarrels with Sakas and Kuṣanas. They then advanced towards Volga and Oxus. The Huṇas of the Oxus valley subsequently advanced towards Persia and India, crossed the Hindukush and occu-

102 R.C. Majumdar, A.I., pp. 245-6.
A land grant issued in Gaya, the very heart of Magadha in 551-2 A.D., by a person Kumarāmatya Maharaja, gives no reference of Gupta king. It can be presumed safely that by 551 A.D. Guptas ceased to have effective control in Magadha. (R.C. Majumdar adds that the official decorum, "Kumaramatya shows that like the Vazirs of Avadh he dared not throw off the last vestige of homage io the Imperial House." Anc. India, pp. 245-6.

103 The Cl. Age, pp. xliii-xliv.

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pied Gandhara. Their further progress was checked by the crushing defeat Skanda Gupta administered them in 460.

In the closing years of the Fifth and the opening years of the sixth century, Huna Chief Toramana advanced into the Punjab conquered a vast part of western India and even parts of Madhya Pradesh. His coins proclaim his rule over parts of U.P., Rajputana, Punjab and Kashmir. His success was short-lived as he was defeated by Bhanu Gupta in 510.

Toramana was succeeded by his son, Mihirakula, perhaps in circa 515, and is said to have been defeated by both Yasodharman and Narasimha Gupta. He seems to have been crushed but not destroyed as Mandasor Inscription Number 70 claims that Mihirakula touched the feet of Yasodharman. Taking advantage of Yasodharman's death, Mihirakula again tried to extend his dominions but was frustrated by Narasimha Gupta Baladitya. After this, Hunas continued their forays into India but made no powerful impact. Bana refers in his Harshacharitam to Huṇa invasions into northern India. Huna invasions were thus a major, though not the chief, cause of the fall of the Gupta dynasty.

With weak rulers on the throne, the Gupta army became negligent and did not watch the frontiers as closely as it did during the hey-days of Guptas. Huṇas, though expelled from central India, were a great presence in Afghanistan and Kashmir and tried their luck in India whenever an opportunity arose. If one were to rely on references in Bana's Harshacharitam, Huṇa invasions continued upto the Seventh Century and were a strain on the exchequer.

The mighty Gupta Empire thus crumbled. But the memory of its greatness lingered on and echoed in popular legends. The most famous of these is the legend of Vikramaditya. The legendary hero Vikramaditya is actually a composite personality of the Gupta Emperor and Indian and foreign kings under him. He was a military genius, a literary figure, a lover of arts and fine crafts, a worshipper of Vishnu, a tolerant of all religions etcetera.

Seldom in the history of a people has been found a period like the Gupta Age during which human genius got so fully expressed in the fine arts. India hummed then with a rebirth of cultural activities and an echo was heard in South-East Asia and East Asia. The remains of Indian art and architecture and the pageant of the still alive Indian culture and religion are a proud testimony to India as the giver and East Asia as the receiver.

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# 2

# Social Life

The Caste system did not exist in the early Rigvedic times, but the Society seems to have got divided into four classes—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras during the later Rigvedic times. (R.V.I. 90 Pursa Sukta). The Manu Smriti lays down in detail the privilege and the domestic rites with each of the four castes were entitled to perform. What the Aryans originally devised for better administration of the society by apportionment of duties among the four classes developed into a rigid caste system by the time of Lord Buddha. Brahmanas had come to dominate the Society and had made domestic rites so elaborate and expensive that the common man groaned under their burden.

Buddhism ended the supremacy of Brahmanas. During the Mauryan period, Buddhist monks wandered all over India and neighbouring countries to propagate the teachings of the Lord and people of all parts of India came in touch with each other. This brought about a change in the outlook of the people and they shed their rigidity in religious matters.

Alien rule before the rise of Mauryas and again until Guptas came on the stage after the fall of Mauryas, brought about certain changes in the dress, customs and habits and political outlook of the Indian Society. Annointment of the king on his coronation day and on his birthdays and the close fitting coat, trousers and head-dress the king wore, are all foreign influences.

During the days of Kanishka, not only did Indian art undergo the considerable change depicted in the Gandhara sculptured pieces but the wealth and prosperity of the country increased with the growth of

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trade and industry. This gave a better standard of living for the masses and developed in them a taste for city life. And the people of northern India were tired of the forcible property grabbing by Sakas, Yavanas, Bahilkas and other alien clans.

Such was the Society inherited by the Gupta emperors under whose patronage the supremacy of Brahmanas was revived.

*Brahmanas* are mentioned by Kalidasa as of the upper class. They spoke Sanskrit and education of a high standard was confined to them.[1] They earned their livelihood mainly through priesthood (dakshina)[2]. The wearing of the sacred thread was their privilege and a sign of recognition.[3] They were supposed to have been invested with the quality of "satva".[4]

*Kśastriyas* were next to Brahmanas in caste and their name was derived, according to Kalidasa, from the root 'Ksatra' (protection from harm).[5] Their principal duty was to be ready for and to be engaged in warfare. They had the Dvija (twice-born) status with the privileges of Upanayana and Vedic studies.[6]

They took lessons in archery and in no circumstances did they place their weapons down. Kalidasa describes a Kśatriya boy saluting the elders keeping the bow in his folded hands.[7]

*Vaisyas* were organised into the guilds which dominated trade and industry. They were called Naigamas, Sreṣthi Vanijas and Sarthavāhas by Kalidasa.[8] They enjoyed a position of honour and responsibility, and their cultural contribution as a class was greater than of

1 Raghu V, III. 30.
2 Māl, pp. 33, 88. Gaudwa stone inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II and Kumar Gupta I state the donation of ten dinaras to one and two Brahmans respectively. Kumar Gupta also gifted 12 dinaras for building community charitable hall. Interference in the affairs of Brahmans was prohibited on moral ground. (Gaudwa Inscription Fleet ICC, pp. 39-40).
3 Raghu., XI 64: पित्र्यवंशमूवीत लक्षणं.
4 Raghu., XI 90.
5 Raghu., II 55.
6 Vik., p. 128.
7 Vik., p. 117.
8 Vik , p. 117, IV 13.
Sak., p. 219.
Māl., I. 17.

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those who were handicapped by the lack of wealth. They were represented in the district councils.[9]

*Sudras* took up many occupations like black art, quackery and dancing considered low by the other three classes.

*Sudras* had to do sweeper's work and clean roads and dumps. Guptas seem to have recruited a large percentage of their infantry from among Sudras. The other three classes with their privilege of Upanayana saṁskara as the twice-born were considered by Kalidasa to be superior to Sudras.[10] Kalidasa supported death penalty to a non-dvija who performed austerities.[11]

Narada considered butchers, leather-workers, quack and dancers—occupations considered low by the upper classes and taken up by Sudras—as enemies of the Guild.

Sudras have been divided by Dr. Raj Bali on the basis of Amarakoṣa into four categories—Sudras who suffer at the hands of society, Avarnas or low castes, Vrashalas or those who had discarded dharma and Jaghanyaja or those who have been Sudras from the days of creation having issued from the feet of the Creator.

A fifth class composed of those who earned their living by the net (by fishing) is described by Kalidasa. These were Chandalas and the like who lived outside the city.[12] Chandalas clattered two wooden pieces to indicate their entry into the town according to Fa-hein.[13]

Kalidasa advocated the ideal of caste life and considered the king to be the protector of Varṇaśrama Dharma with the duty to see that none abandoned the prescribed path or undermined the law.[14]

And yet the caste system under Guptas does not seem to have been as rigid as prescribed by the Sastras. Though the traditional work of Brahmanas was performance of religious rites and imparting of education, the Jataka literature refers to Brahman physicians, traders, hunters and even trappers. There were many Brahmanas and kśatriyas who deviated and adopted the occupations of lower castes. One fifth century inscription at Indore (UP) records a Kśatriya who was an old merchant. Yuan-Chwang in the seventh century met a Brahmana in Takka country ploughing a field. Dasakumara Charitam mentions

9 Vak Gup. Age, pp. 285-86.
10 Raghu, V. 23.
11 *Ibid.*, I. 69.
12 Śak. p. 56; Raghu. IX. 53.
13 Fa-hein, J. Legge., p. 43.
14 Raghu, XVIII. 12; V. 19; XIV 67.

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Brahmana robbers in the Vindhya forests. The Jataka tales refer to a kśatriya as an archer, trader, labourer, and idol maker. Thus the rigidity of the caste system advocated in Manu Smriti had relaxed with the passage of time. Though their main caste occupation was trade and commerce. Vaisyas took to military and other careers they fancied.[15]

There are several references in the works of Kalidasa to *inter-caste marriages.* Though not looked upon favourably by the society, such marriages seem to have been quite common during the Gupta period. Chandra Gupta II married Kuvernaga of the Naga family and had a daughter by her named Prabhavati Gupta who was married to Rudrasena the Vakataka king. Though these marriages were political, there could not have been rigid restrictions on the general public when kings could contract inter-caste marriages. A Brahmana Ravikirti marries a Kśatriya Bhanu Gupta.[16] The marriage of Brahmana Charudatta with Vasantasena and Sravilaka's marriage with her slave Madanika in Mrichchakatikam are examples of inter-caste marriages. Malavikagnimitra refers to a general whose father was a kśatriya and mother was a low-caste lady.[17] Such marriages were approved by Kamasutra, an ancient authority. The Smṛtis condemn inter-caste marriages and yet permit a lower-caste wife in the absence of a caste-wife to participate in the husband's religious rituals.

The Jataka tales narrate the successful love affairs of a kśatriya prince with a potter, a basket maker, a florist and a cook without a word about his losing caste when the love affairs become known.[18]

**Aśramas**

Hindus of the Gupta era followed the same four-stage pattern of life adopted during the Vedic age. They observed the tradition of spending twenty-five years of their life span in each of the Aśramas or stages—Brahmacharya, Grihastha, Banaprastha and Sanyasa. They considered it a moral duty to lead such a planned life. The Reghuvamṣa[19] shows how particular Kalidasa was about this division of man's span of life:

15 Mandasor Stone Insc. of Kumar Gupta. No. 18 (Fleet. CII, pp. 79 ff).
16 Inscription No. 35, (Fleet I.C.C., p. 152).
17 Māl. वर्णाविरो भ्राता । General's father was kśatriya and the mother was a low-caste lady.
18 Rhys Davids, Buddhist India.
19 Raghu. I.8, p. 4; V 19, p. 10; VIII. 14, p. 162; VII. 71; XIV, 67.

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*Brahmacharya or Student Life*

The Brahmacharin Brahmanas studied the four Vedas,[20] and the kśatriyas learnt the art of archery and warfare alongwith the study of Vedas.[21] The education of a boy as brahmacharin started probably at the age of five or six, and the student continued to study in the house of his preceptor (guru's ashram) till he was fifteen or sixteen years old. Further studies were continued in special cases until he was thirty years old. Once a student returned home from his teacher's house, he had to make his own way in the world.[22]

*Grihastha-Aśrama or Householder's Life*

After completing his studies at the age of sixteen or after finishing his travels and further studies at thirty, the brahmacharin was permitted to marry and enter the Grihastha aśrama.[23]

Kalidasa attaches such importance to the Saṁskara of marriage and, according to him, no religious rite was to be performed by a man without wife. Even the everyday sacrifice was to be performed jointly with the wife.[24] Hence the necessity of a wife.

Kalidasa refers to four kinds of marriages: Svayamvara[25] Prajapatya[26], Gandharva[27] and Asura.[28] Svayamvara was conducted in the court when several kings sought the hand of a princess. The princess either made the selection or accepted one who performed certain feats.

In the prajapatya form of marriage, the father gave away his fully ornamented daughter to the bridegroom. This was probably the most popular[29]. The ceremony was performed by the purohita (family priest) before agni (fire) which was considered a witness. Ghritam (clarified butter) and other things were offered to the fire.[30]

20 Raghu. V.I.
21 Raghu. III. 30.
22 Saletore, pp. 99-100.
23 Raghu. V. 10.
24 Sak. सहधर्मचारिणी, pp. 165, 260.
Kum. VIII 29, 51; VI 13, 85.
25 Raghu V 39.
26 *Ibid.*, VIII 13. 15,28; Ku. VII 73-89.
27 Sak III 20.
28 Raghu. XI 38.
29 Kum. Ch III.
30 Raghu. VII 20.

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After the ceremony, householders threw wet rice on the couple and the guests presented gifts to them.[31]

The Gandharva type of marriage was contracted by lovers without consulting parents and without performing any ritual.

In the asura type, the boy paid bride-money (duhitra śulka) as a condition of marriage.

Contemporary records mention widow-remarriage. Chandra Gupta II married Dhruvadevi, his widowed sister-in-law. But widow remarriages, strictly speaking, were discouraged. Prevalence of the Sati system is recorded in Inscription No. 22. [32] Kalidasa refers to this custom in Kumar Sambhava (marnavyavasāya budhim) and mentions about funeral pyre (Chitām).[33]

*Vanaprastha or Hermit's Life*

A Vanaprasthi lived in a hermitage where the nivara corn lay around in heaps and ruminating antelopes lay in the courtyard[34]. The hermits greased their heads with the oil of Ingudi fruit and lit their lamps also with the same oil.[35] They slept on the hides of sacred animals, wore bark clothes and bathed several times a day.[36] They sometimes wore a veil during meditation.[37] While not doing meditation, they wrote their experiences in stories and anecdotes.[38]

There were different categories of retired forest life : Audambara men took their wives along but observed strict celibacy. Wives did not accompany Vaisanchi. Balakhilya led quite a free life without even mental attachment to the world. A fourth type of hermits led a very strict life, slept on the bare earth and became true sanyasis.

*Sanyasa or Life of Total Renunciation*

At the age of seventy-five, a man entered this stage of life which was one of complete renunciation. He adopted a career of total dedication to the welfare of humanity. He abstained from causing

31 Raghu. TII. 28,30.
32 Fleet C.I.I.
33 Ku. IV. 33,35,36, 45.
34 Raghu. I, 52-53.
35 Raghu XIV 81.
36 Sak. Act IV.
37 Bana, Kadamari, p. 99
38 The Imp. Gup., pp. 189-287.

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injury to any creature. He freed himself of both love towards friends and hatred towards foes. He was thereby liberated from the fear of death. He lived on alms and moved sometimes from place to place.

**Customs and Manners**

Kalidasa describes the etiquette observed by elders, equals and inferiors. When a youngster and elder met, the younger saluted by pronouncing 'pranama'[39], 'Vande'[40] or 'Namaste'[41] and touched the feet of revered-elders.[42] The elders returned these salutations with a blessing.[43]

There seems to have existed joint-family system. The cases of separate grants of land to father and son are rare. The property of a widow[44], with no issue lapsed to the crown. Sati system also seems to be prevalent in modest way.

Though Chandra Gupta had married his widow sister-in-law, strictly speaking the society discouraged such marriages. Widows in general led very simple life of austerity. It seems that they were kept apart on auspicious occasions. Pārvati was decorated only by married women at the time of her marriage.

Kalidasa has referred to poligamy among rich and royal class,[45] while common man had only one wife.

Purdah system does not seem to exist, although ladies of pedigree

39 Raghu. XIV. 13,60; XV. 14; Ku. III 62, 91.
40 Raghu. XIII. 72, 77; XIV. 5, 71.
41 Māl.
42 Raghu VIII 12, XI 89, XIII 70, XIV 2, 60; Śak. p, 145; Kum. VI. 91.
43 Raghu. XI 6, 51; Ku. VI 90, 91.
Vik. (Ayushman) ; Ku. III 63.
Ku. III 63 (अनन्य भागं पतिमाप्नुहि)
Ku. VII. 28 (अखंडितं प्रेम व्भस्व)
Śak., p. 148 (शिवास्ते पन्थानः सन्तु)
44 Śak. VI Act.
Kumar Sambhana पतिवर्त्मगा·····, IV 33 & Insc. No. 20 refers to Sati system (C.I.I, p. 93).
45 Raghu. I. 32 अवरोधे महत्यपि ।
Śak., p. 105. बहुबल्लभा राजान् श्रूयन्ते···।, बहुपत्नीकेम, p. 219.
Vik., p. 140.

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used to cover their face with veil when they were in journey, as Śakuntala[46] did.

**Dress**

According Nearchus the dress of Indians consisted of a tunic down to the middle of their shins, an upper garment thrown over their shoulders and one piece of cloth twisted round their head (Pugree). But the oldest Indian dress consisted of a 'dhoti' and an upper garment. Scythians introduced coats, overcoats and trousers, and Gupta kings are seen in this dress on their coins. Kalidasa in his works has mentioned of different dresses of different colours at different occasions. In Śakuntala, king Duśyanta was in the hunter's dress (mrigyavéśam). Love-sick Urvashi is in white dress in Vikramorvashi, and red dress is mentioned in Raghuvamśa. Otherwise clothes of different colours[47] including Red,[48] Blue,[49] Black[50] and white[51] were also used. Silken clothes[52] plain and printed with goose or swan motif were also in fashion. But the common dress[53] of a man in the Gupta age seems to have consisted of a turban and two other pieces of cloth. The dress of woman consisted of three pieces of robe, an upper garment, and lower garment and a shawl. The upper garment is called 'Stanāṇśuka'[54] as it covered the breasts, and the lower garment was referred to as 'Nivibandha'.[55]

Jackets, blouses and frocks were worn by Scythian women, but they were not adopted in Hindu society except by dancing girls.

46 Sak; Act V.
47 U. Megh., 11. (वासश्चित्र) ।
48 Raghu. IX 43. (अरुणरागांशुक) ।
Ritu. VI. 4, 19 (रक्तांशुकं) ।
49 Vik., p. 68; P. Megh. नीलांशुक ।
50 Vik., VI. 17. श्यामस्तांशुक ।
Raghu. XV. 77. काषाय ।
51 Ritu. II 25, III 26. श्वेतवासो ।
52 Raghu. XVII, 25.
Ku. V. 67. कुलहंस लक्षणम् दुकूलं ।
53 Raghu, II 42, 61; VII 18.
54 Ritu. IV. 16; V 12., Ku. VIII 4.
55 Māl. V. 12 (Nivi is mentioned in Samhita also).

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Cotton garments were in daily use while silk was worn by fashionable persons on occasions. Perhaps silk was also imported from China.[56]

**Ornaments**

Ornaments of gold studded with precious jewels, 'Muktajal' and 'Hemsutra' type of garlands, 'Karṇpura' or 'Kundla' for the ears, 'Keyura' (gold armlet), various types of Anguliyaka (rings) and 'mekhala' (girdle) worn by women on waist, Nupuras (anklets) etc. are not only mentioned in Kalidasa's writings but are depicted in paintings and sculptures.

One of the coins[57] of Chandra Gupta I shows him wearing ear-rings and armlet. He is shown holding a crescent-topped-standard bound with a fillet in his left-hand and offering with his right-hand a ring to his wife Kumaradevi.

Gold and precious ornaments were used by the nobility and upper class, while the ordinary ornaments were by the lower class. Mālvikāginimitra[58] mentions a soldier decorated with peacock-feathers. Ajanta paintings (plate XIV), Terracotta figures of Rajghat Benaras (plate XI) are worth noting for ornaments[59] of the period.

In addition to gold ornaments, Kalidasa has made sporadic references to flower-ornaments. Śakuntala while living in the hermitage wore only flowers as ornaments. In Kumarasambhava[60] Pārvati is decorated with flowers and other ornaments before her marriage.

**Hair Styles**

Contemporary paintings, sculptured pieces and Kalidasa's description tell us of various types of hair styles. All sorts of fashions in hair were adopted by upper class women. They knitted hair in long tresses[61] or had Śikha or 'Juda' according to paintings and sculptures of the period. Women in separation from her husband or lover had

56 Kum, VII. 3. (चीनांशुक)
57 Saletore, p. 401.
58 Māl. V. 10.
59 Vak. Gup. Age. (Plates).
60 Kum., V Act.
61 Raghu. XIX. 12; Sak.

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'ekaveni' like Śakuntala.[62] Curly hair were prised in Kalidasa's time while long hair were given preference in Vedic period. Men also curled their hair and used 'Nitatni' medicine to make them strong.[63]

**Cosmetics**

Women used many kinds of cosmetics to look more beautiful. They used powder prepared from Lodhar trees' bark,[64] scented their hair with 'Agru' and 'Sandal' (Sandal-wood) and decorated them with flowers.[65] Ritusamhar describes of flowers which blossomed in six seasons. According to it saffron-flowers were used for decorating hair-braids, while lotus flowers were used in water-sports and ears. Collyrium for the eyes and a sort of lipstick was also in fashion.[66] The feet of a bride[67] were also coloured as in modern days, and the decoration of the forehead[68] was also in fashion. The mirror was known.

**Amusements**

According to Vatsyayana's Kamasutra, rich people and royalty spent time and money on pleasures, festivals, cock-fighting, betting games etc. The life of a common man was devoid of these pleasures.

Arthaśastra records dancing, mimicry, magical feats, acrobatics on rope, dancing, vocal and instrumental music operas and dramatic performances, etc. as popular forms of entertainments. In mentions

62 Śak., VII. 21.

63 Arth. 6. 173 (केशा नडाइव वर्धन्ता शीर्णास्ते ।)

Ritu. 5. 12 (कुंचिताग्रं)

Hair styles seem to have changed to give grace to the figures. Flowers, pearls etc. were commonly used. National Museum hoards one flower and pearl bedecked coiffure (11-12th Centuries A.D.), a charming theme of Indian art (photo attached). Two more photographs depicting Gupta hair styles (Shri L.K. Jhah's collection) are also beautiful examples of hairs-styles. (Photo attached).

64 Kum. VII 17. Bana and Bhavbhuti also mention about this powder and tree with yellow flowers.

65 Kum. VII 14, 15.

66 Māl. III. 5. कज्जल बिम्बाधरालक्तक ।

Kum. VII. 20. (कालाऽञ्जनं)

67 Kum. VII. 19.

68 Kum. VII. 22, 23, 24, 26.

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about dicing and ball-games (Kanduk-kriḍa) played by women and children in gardens. The king and the nobility enjoyed in boat-racing, swimming, ox-race, ox drawn chariot races, and horse drawn chariot races.[69]

*Music* is known to us from the beginning of Civilization. Frog-hymn in Rigveda compares the croak of the frog with the musical voice of the Veda reciting teachers. In the Gupta period, music seems to have been practised by common as well as rich people as an accomplishment of Drama. Kalidasa has written Mālvikaginimitra for the celebration of Vasantotsava (the spring festival).[70] In this spring festival flowers, wine, Drama with music and dance provided the main entertainment. Music seems to reach very high standard as the same Drama mentions about Sangitshāla and Natyācharya. The Drama is narrated to have nine-Rasas and three Gunas, to entertain public of all tastes.[71] In fact, music, dancing and acting reached very high stage during the period.[72] On Vasantotsava wine also was taken to the limit of intoxication. According to Allahabad Inscription and coins, Samudra Gupta was a great musician. In the Praśati, Harisena compares him with Kaśyapa Tumburu and Nārad in 27th line and gives him higher place. One coin depicts Samudra Gupta on a couch with the Veena on his lap. (niśita—vidagadha—mati gandharvva—lalitair—vridita—tridaśpatiguru—Tumburu—Naradader (A.I., line 27).

Kalidasa has mentioned various kinds of dances such as Chhaika, Khurka, and Abhinya. A dance with fine cloth in hand is also alluded to.[73]

The plays, dances and vocal music was performed with the accompaniment of musical instruments.[74] The poet has referred to various types of musical instruments. The Turya,[75] Vallaka[76] and Ātodya[77] are grouped with Veena by Mallinatha. The other

69 Artha., II, I 27-34ff.
R.C. Majumdar, India in classical Liter., pp. 260, 417-19, 481 ff.
70 Māl. I, p. 5. This festival was celebrated from early days as alluded to in Arthaśastra.
71 Māl. I. V. 4.
72 Māl. I and II Acts (Ghatuśpad gan) II, p. 56; P. Megh. V. 62; U. Megh. V. 8.
73 Māl. II. pp. 53, 56; V. 6; P. Megh, 62; Māl. 1, p. 40.
74 Māl. I and II Acts.
75 Raghu. III 19, X 76.
76 *Ibid.* VIII 41.
77 *Ibid.* VIII 34.

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mentioned instruments are Mṛdanga (tabor), Veena[78], Venu[79] (flute) and Vaṁśakritya (flute).[80] There is mention of Puṣkara[31] and Murija[82] type of mridangas, Dundhubhi,[83] Jalaja[84] (Counch sounded in peace and war) and ghanta (bell).[86] One of the coins of Samudra Gupta depict Veena and two types of drums—one short and the other longer; both tied to the ends, were slung on the shoulder by means of strings

Men and women enjoyed water sports and soft instrumental music. Flowers and wine were sources of great joy for married couples in moon-lit nights.[87] Very rich and fashionable pleasure-seekers surrendered themselves daily to beautiful harlots, in a special garden outside the city where melodious voiced singers sang.[88] Sprinkling of coloured water on each other[89] seems to have been popular among all classes.

Gambling which was prevalent in the Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Mahabharata and Mauryan times, was also a game of interest in the Gupta period.[90] Kanduk-kriḍa prevalent during the Mauryan period continued to be the game for women and children. Dolls were also known to girls.[91] Women enjoyed swings (dola)[92] alone and with their consorts.

*Hunting* continued from the Mauryan period. According to Magasthenese and Arthaśastra, it continued to be a favourite pastime of kings and nobles. Kalidasa has mentioned Duṣyanta[93] on a hunt-

78 *Ibid.* XIII. 40, 33; XIX 35, 79).
79 Raghu. XIX 35.
80 *Ibid.* 11, 12.
81 Raghu. XIX 14.
82 Kum. VI. 40 मुरजस्वना: ।
83 Raghu. X 76, Vayu Puranas. Sec. 57, V. 145.
84 Raghu. VII. 63. जलजं शंखं (Sanjivini Tika, p. 289).
85 *Ibid.* VII. 41.
86 P. Megh. 61.
87 U. Megh. 3.
88 U. Megh. 8 बहिरूपवने कामिनो निर्वशान्ति ।
89 Raghu. XVI. 70.
90 *Ibid.* VI 18; (Arth. edited by (T. Ganpati), III, pp. IIIff. The state regulated gambling and collected revenue from it).
91 Ku. I. 29.
92 Kum. II.
93 Sak II.

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ing expedition accompanied by Greek (Yavani) attendants, wearing flower garlands and carrying bow and arrows. According to Raghu-vamsa,[94] hunting was popular with kings and nobles, while the common man was fond of ram-fights and cock-fights.

**Food and Drinks**

The earliest inhabitants of India were food gatherers rather than food producers.[95]

During the Dravidian period Rice, Pulses like Mudga, Masura, Masa, Meat and the intoxicating drink Ira was in use.[96] They also prepared vatakas (cakes) which they fried in oil

The Harappan domesticated buffalo, goat and sheep. This shows that the use of milk and milk products must have been known to them. Moreover, the excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa prove that cultivation was well-known. They prepared wheat cakes, took meat and consumed fruits. During the Vedic period,[97] barley was very important. A gruel of it was prepared, cooked in water or milk. Inferior types of cereals were also in use.[98]

Rigveda mentions the free use of honey[99] and milk.[100] Soma rasa and Sura were the favourite beverages. Soma seems to have been a mild beverage as it was commended in the Vedas and Sura a strong liquor as it was forbidden.[101]

Soma rasa was the favourite drink of brahmanas, udumbara, asvatha, plaksa and other fruits of ksatriyas, curds of vaisyas and the juice from nyagrodha root of Sudras.[102]

94 Raghu.
95 Vedic Age VIII, p. 146.
96 Bulletin of the school of Oriental and African Research London 1948, pp. 371-93 V.R.R. Diksitar, Pre-historic South India, p. 75, quoted by Dr. O. Parkash vide Food & Drinks, ft. n. 3 (p. 2); 2(p. 3).
97 R.V.I. 23. 15; II 5,6; V 85.3.
IX 68.4; VIII. 69. 14, VIII 77.10.
98 Priyangu (Panicum Italicum) Vaj. Sam XVIII. 12.
99 R.V. IV. 43.5; 45.3; X 24, 6.
100 Ksir. RV. I 164, 7; VIII 2.9; IX 67.32; X 87.16 Payas, R.V.I. 153, 4; I. 121.5; VI 52.10; R.V.I. 33.10; 151.8; IV 27.5; IX. 46.4, 71.54.
101 R.V. VIII. 2, 12; R.V. X5.6.
102 Aitriya Brahmana, VII. 29.
Bhagvat Geeta and Vedas propagate purity and quality of food for mental make up. Geeta has classified food into three categories Sattav (Saintly), Rajas (Passionate) and Tamas (inferior taste). It prohibits too many fasts and too much eating on health ground. (B. Geeta XVIII. 8-10; VI. 16.17).

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From 300 B.C. to 75 A.D. rice and barley remained the staple food-grains of the people. By the time of Magasthenese, Darka and Varka types of rice were developed. Besides, Guḍa or sugar candy and refined sugar are praised by the Greek writers.[103] Between 75 A.D. to 300 A.D. food articles were divided into four categories i.e. food which require chewing, which does not require chewing, beverages and food which is to be licked.[104] In addition to earlier varieties Ṣastika type of rice was developed. This rice took sixty days to ripen in summer.[105] The ascetics and poor used inferior cereals. Rice and Barley remained the staple food of the people. Rice was cooked in milk or water with fats meat and pulses. Milk and milk-products like curds, fresh-butter and butter-milk were used according to taste and need.[106]

**Gupta Period (300 A.D. - 750 A.D.)**

By 300 A.D. the people had developed varied tastes in food and drinks. The discovery of Nāvanitakam, a comprehensive work on medicine, has proved, that in addition to previous formulae and prescriptions in Charak and Suśtrat Samhitas many new varieties of food preparations and formulae were introduced. But the basic food and cereals mentioned previously remained more or less the same.

The literature of the period mentions many varieties of rice, but Kalidasa, praises Kalama variety of Śali (rice) grown in Bengal.[107] Milk and rice was very popular, but rice was taken with curd also.[108] All the preparations of barley and wheat were in use, but Yavāgu

103 Artha. (Ed. T. Ganpati) II, pp. 210 ff; (Pupika or bread Cakes, *Ibid.* XII).
Pliny writes that Indian sugar was better than Arabian sugar (Merindle, p. 122). Magasthenese thought that the Indian sugar candy was better than that prepared from the figs or honey (Magasthenese X, Strabo XV 703).
Dr O.P., Food and Drinks, ft. n. 8, p. 91.

104 चतुर्विधोपयोगः पानाशनभक्ष्यलेह्योपयोगात् Charak, Su. 25.36.

105 Chakrapani on Caraka. Su 27.
Dr. O.P., Food and Drinks, vide ft. n. I, p. 134.

106 Suśruta Su. 45.81.
Carak Su. 27. 226.
Dr. O.P. Food and Drinks vide ft. nts. 6, 7, p. 139.

107 Raghu, IV 36.37.

108 Mrich. Act IV.

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was very popular.[109] Puraṇas mention some new preparations namely Vitanaka Polika, Iṣtaka and Locika.[110] Milk and milk preparations were the favourites of scholar and Brahmanas. Yuan-Chwang writes that the important food of Nalanda university students was milk and curd.[111]

In addition to various varieties of cereals, fruits of many varieties were also grown. According to Yuan-Chwang's writings pears, peaches, appricots, grapes and plums were produced in Kashmir.[112] Peaches and pears were introduced by Chinese in India and were called Chinam and China-rājaputra respectively.[113] Melons and pomegranate[114] were grown everywhere.

By this time the art of cooking had developed much. The authors of medical works of the time knew advantages of slowly cooked food, sprouted gra ns etc. These works prescribe easily digestable articles and prohibit the daily use of many eatables.[115] Fa-hein[116] the famous Buddhist pilgrim of the period records that liquid food was permitted even at irregular hours to monks, who otherwise were forbidden to take meals at odd hours. Intoxicating drinks were prohibited for the Buddhist monks.

*Liquor*

Since the Soma rasa of Rigveda has been famous intoxicating liquor in India. It developed into a prosperous industry by the time of Mauryas. Kautalya[117] has mentioned about 'Sūrādhyaksha' who regulated the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors. All the

109 Food and Drinks in Anc. India, p. 171.
Angavijja (C. 4th C.A.D.), p. 181 mentions Yavagu mired with clarified butter oil or vinegar. (*Ibid.*, ft. n. 3).

110 Matsya and Vayu Purana.

111 Beals, Si-Yu-Ki, Vol. I, p. 88.

112 Yuan-Ch., Vol. II, p. 277.

113 Yuan-Ch., Vol. I, pp. 292-93.
Peaches and pears were introduced in Ist Century A.D. (Yuan-Ch., Vol. I, p. 179).

114 Yuan-Ch., Vol. II, p. 277.

115 Carak Su. 27; 266-67, 270.
Suśruta Su. 46. 446.
Vide Dr. O.P., Food and Drinks, p. 155 and ft. notes.

116 Legge., p. 44.

117 Artha. II. 25.

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works of Kalidasa[118] give sporadic references to drinking, and reveal that ladies of royal families enjoyed drinking, while it gave special charm to them. In Kumar Sambhava Śiva himself offered wine to Pārvati. In Raghuvamsa VIII (68) Aja transferred wine to his wife Indumati from his mouth. Iravati in Mālvikaginimitra is seen in the intoxicated state. The Mandasor inscription mentions, "like the cheeks of intoxicated women". Yuan-Chwang[119] has mentioned about different kinds of beverages for different castes i.e. Brahmanas and Buddhists took sugar-cane and grapes juices; Kśatriyas took wines made from grapes and sugar-cane juice. Vaishyas took strong drinks and low castes took unspecified kinds of drinks. Fa-hein's[120] account that people abstained from drinking in Madhyadeśa, may be attributed to Buddhists only, who abstained from all intoxicants.

Mālvikaginimitra's reference to 'Matsyaṇḍika', a type of antidote for over intoxication tells to the extent liquors were enjoyed in this period.

*Meat*

Buddhist works[121] tell us that the society had majority of non-vegetarian people. According to Jātakas there was a meat market at Mithila, a slaughter house and other places for fishermen to sell their catch.

During Epic Age Kśatriyas took the meat of animals which they killed in hunting.[122] Pandavas in the Kamyaka forest took the meat of many kinds of deer as did Rama and Bharata in the forest.

Meat was considered a nourishing diet and was prescribed to the weak convalescent and to people addicted to wine, according to Charaka Sutra.[123] The flesh of sheep, geese, cocks, porupines,

118 Śak. VI, Ritu. I.5, IV II, VI 10; Raghu IV 42, 61; XIII 52. Deogarh temple penal depicts levers enjoying wine (photo attached).

119 Yuan., Ch. 1, p. 178.

120 Legge., p. 43.

121 Jataka, (Fausboll), 537.
J. IV 370; V 489, 408,
नानामच्छमांस विकति परिवार भोजनम् सम्पदित्वा धोकं ।
भोजनानि विपरित्वा उत्सुमं पलायेन्तो अट्ठासि ।
Jataka. 292, Angu. Nik, III 301-303. Jataka, 21, 34, 114.

122 Mbh, Anuśasana Parva, Śalya Parva & Van Parv. Ramayana—Ayodhya Kanda; Aranya Kanda.

123 Carak Su. V 4.

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pigeons, jackals, fish and some birds was eaten.[124]

During Gupta period vegetarian ss well as non-vegetarian diet were in vogue. Kalidasa[125] refers to a butcher boy and a slaughter house. Meat roasted on charcoal and on spikes was a favourite preparation of Kśatriyas.[126] Lankavatar Sutra[127] prescribes the free use of Śali rice, wheat, barley, oils, molasses sugar etc. but prohibits the use of meat. Even though the Buddhists abstained from it, the general public and specially the rich and royal families did take fish and meat.[128] King Harsha prohibited the use of flesh as food, according to Yuan-Chwang.[129] Fa-hein's[130] remarks that people abstained from meat eating, may be attributed to Buddhists only, who formed a considerable part of the Gupta-society. A Copper plate inscription of 465 A.D., states that the slayer of a cow was considered guilty of heinous crime.[131]

*Sweets*

Kalidasa[132] mentions 'modakas', which seem to have been the prized sweet of the time. Besides modakas or (modern luddus) many preparations such as madhulja, Kṛsara, utkarika, samyāva, pupa, phenaka, pāpyasa, adhuṣa and Guḍaudana were in use[133].

124 Carak Su. 25. 38; Śusruta Su. 46. 333.
Dr. O.P., p. 141.
125 Māl. II, p. 37.
126 Mṛch. IV, p. 237; अङ्गार राशिपतित मिव मांसखण्डम् March, p. 98.
127 Lankavator Su. (prior to 443 A.D.), pp 250 ff.
128 Mṛch. X 29.
129 Yuan-Ch., I, p. 344.
130 Legge., p. 43.
131 Fleet CII., p.71. तदेतत् प्रवृत्तम् च उच्छिन्द्यात् सगोब्रह्महत्यया संयुक्तो भवेत् ।
132 Māl., p. 81; Sak., p. 62.
133 Food and Drinks, p. 179.

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# 3

# Economic Life

The prosperity and happiness of a country depends upon its Economy. The conception of prosperity during Vedic period was the possession of cattle i.e. cows and bullocks. According to Rigveda the battles booty consisted of flock of herds, which were used in exchange in trade.

In due course, the battles increased, the territories extended and the society became multi-racial and multi-cultured. The tribal loyalties shifted to monarchies, which changed their old conception of wealth to include all types of resources : lands, pearls, gold etc. During the time of Mauryas, the political stability was established in the country and there was all round change in the social cultural and Economic outlook of society.

Arthaśastra puts the responsibility on the king for the protection of his people from external and internal dangers. Kautaliya in this great work depicts unified system of administration, all round development of Art and Architecture, refined social and religious customs etc. which could not have come about without a sound Economy.[1]

The Gupta kings owed their ascent to the Brahmanical revolution against Buddhism and foreign domination by Śakas, Kushanas and others. They had to wage constant wars against internal and external forces. How did they manage to engage themselves to fights and yet maintain the prosperity of the country?

The sources of state income were very many ranging from cultivation and ferry tax to war booty.

1 R.V.I., 56.2; X.136.5,

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**Matrimonial Relations**

Gupta kings established matrimonial relations with powerful royal families. This not only strengthened their political relations with them but placed the wealth of power and resources at their disposal. It was with this wealth that Chandra Gupta I and Lichchhavis could rule over the major portion of India. Samudra Gupta could keep Śakas and Kuṣanas under his sway and Chandragupta II could defeat Śakas in the South.

According to Kalidasa the conquests brought horses, elephants, heaps of gold and other precious things[2] as war booty which added to the wealth of Guptas. The Eran stone inscription and the Allahabad Inscription compare Samudragupta with god 'Dhanada', the god of wealth and narrate that his conquests placed 'Vast-booty' at his disposal. According to V.A. Smith, Samudragupta returned from South 'layden with golden booty'.

**Trade and Commerce**

*External Trade* : The idea of safeguarding Indian ocean and Arabian Sea or the frontier land routes or of maintaining political relations with foreign countries may not have existed in Ancient days, but India did have foreign trade via land and sea routes according to all available records.

*Before Christian Era* : The earliest inhabitants of pre-historic age (Dravidians) had developed international trade.[3] Commercial relations between the Indus valley people and the people of Sumer, Egypt, Crete, Central Asia and Persia were maintained. The trade was carried

2 Raghu. IV.
A. I. Text. 26.
...Anugrahasya Dhanada—.
Sva - bhuja. bala - vijit - aneka-narpati
vibhava - pratyarppanā - nity - Uyāpṛt—
āyuktapurushasya.
Eran Stone Inscription of Samudragupta.
...babhuva Dhanad - Āntaka—
Samudraguptah--pya—pārthiva—gaṇas-sakalah prithivyām sta (?Sva)—rajyavibhava-ddhrutam-āsthito bhut.

3 R.C. Majumdar, Anc. India, p. 6.

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on in foreign and Indian ships[4]. Rigveda mentions Indian merchants sailing in ships to foreign countries in quest of wealth. It credits Varuṇa as the lord of the sea-crafts, with knowledge of trade routes of eastern and western oceans.[5]

Ramayanas (40 Sarga 27 Śloka) refers to Yavadvipa (Java) and Suvarnadvipa. Sugriva sent his men to these places in search of Sita. The great epic speaks of Burma as the land of silver mines.

Mahabharata (Sabha Parva) tells about Romaka or Romans coming with precious presents to attend Yudhistra's Rajasuya Yajña at Indraprastha or Delhi. ओष्णीकाननुवासांध्र रोमकान् पुरूषान् S.P. Ch. 51).

In contemporary fifth Century B.C. records of Alexander's campaigns mention the oceanic enterprises of Indians. Alexander himself ordered Nearchus to sail from the mouth of Euphrates and built an harbour at Patala, where Indus river splits into two branches. The Greek classics tell us about the flourishing trade between the Seleucid-empire and India via Gerrha on the west coast of the Persian gulf.[6] The first Greek writer to write on India was a sea-captain Karyanda or Caryanda (509 B.C.). He explored India. Another Greek writer Aristoxenus (330 B.C.) has mentioned about the visit of Indian philosophers to Athens.[7]

Aśoka (3rd Century B.C.) after his Buddhist council at Patliputra (247 B.C.) sent Buddhist missionaries to far-off countries in Western Asia : Egypt, Eastern Europe and Ceylon. These Buddhist wandering monks scaled land and sea, explored new routes and propagated Buddhism.[8] Asoka's R.E. 13, names various inland trade

4 Harappa seals, potsherd paintings of Mohenjo-daro, pottery of Egypt, Minoan seals and cylinders of Sumer are a testimony. The most noteworthy are a white marble seal, an engraved treatite vessel, a model ram as importation from Sumer in Indus Valley. The Sumerian women adopted the hair style of Indus-Valley fashion. (Lectures on Indus Valley Civilization, 1953, p. 5, New Delhi, Yugantar Press Publication; Sridharan, Maritime H. of I., pp. 8-9).

5 R.V.I. 25; I 48.3; I 56.2; I 97.8.
I. 116. 3; I 24. 35 and 36.
VII 88. 3 and 4; X 136.5.

6 McCrindle, Ancient India, pp. 165, 296 ff.
Armaic inscription of 4th Century B.C. also supports that a coastline trade routes to Seleuccia through the Persian gulf and via Tigris existed during the period (Maritime History, p. 24).

7 Nandas and Mauryas, pp. 81-83.

8 Dr. S. Khosla, History of Buddhism in Kashmir.

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routes along with Kambojas and Tamarparṇi (Ceylon). Suvarṇabhumi is referred to in the annals of Buddhist council which sent two missionaries Sona and Uttara, with the message of Buddhism.

India was brou ght into systematic connection with Hellinistic monarchies of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia and Epirus according to R.E. 13.

Kṣémendra, the Kashmirian poet of 10th C. A.D. has preserved an interesting story in his Bodhisattvāvadana Kalpalata[9] about the foreign intercourse and naval activity of India during Aśoka's days. Seventy-third Pallava of the work narrates kings' interest in the foreign trade and anxiety to protect Indian merchants who were completely ruined by the pirates called Nagas (perhaps Chinese as they worship the Dragon). Aśoka at the suggestion of a Buddhist priest issued a sort of edict and inscribed the same on a copper-plate. The Edict was respected by Nagas, only when Aśoka embraced Buddhism. Then they returned, all the booty to the robbed merchants.

During the Mauryan period (3rd Century B.C.), India had established brisk trade through the land of five rivers to the great highway

9 राजा श्रीमान शोकोऽभूत्पुरे पाटलिपुत्रके···(2)
तं कदाचित् सभासीनं वणिजो द्वीपन्गामिनः
सर्वस्वनाश शोकार्तैः सनिश्वासा व्यजिज्ञपुः ॥ 3 ।
अस्माकं तु प्रवहन्हश्च भक्ता रत्नधनं हृतम्
केवलं भाग्यदौर्बल्यान्नागैः सागरवासिभिः ॥ 5 ।
तं दृष्टवा निष्प्रतीकार कोप व्याकुलमानसम् ।
इन्द्रो नामाब्रवीद भिक्षु षड़भिज्ञः स्थितोऽन्तिके ॥ 8 ।
नागानां रत्नचौराणां त्वत्प्रतापाग्निसूचकः ।
ताम्र पट्टार्पितो लेखः प्रेष्यतां पृथिवीपते ॥ 9 ।
इति भिक्षुवचः श्रुत्वा लेखं राजा विसृष्टवान् ।
क्षिप्रमेव तमम्बुधौ नागास्तीरे प्रचिक्षपुः ॥ 10 ।
अथ राज्ञा पुनर्लेखे प्रहिते नागपुङ्गवाः ।
स्कन्धार्पिताखिल वाणिग्रभाराः समाययु ॥ 22 ।
तद्शेषं नरपतिर्वित्तीर्य्य वणिजा धनम् ।
विमृज्य नागानभवज्विन शासन सादरः ॥ 23 ।
म विधायर्द्धतां पुजामुपचारै नृपोचितै
बभूवानल्पसंकल्पैर्बुद्ध संदर्शनोत्सुकः ॥ 24 ।

Kṣemendra's Avadanākalpata has preserved a few such stories of trade by sea e.g. Dharamruchaya Avadhna and Muktalata Avadana.

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of Central and Western Asia. There were established trade routes between Rajgriha on one side and Śravasti on the other side. Boats used to ply from Champa to Benaras and from there via Ganges and Jamuna upto Kausambi.[10]

Kautalya's Arthaśastra records elaborately, the department of admiralty, which was given the first place among the defence forces. In addition to port laws, coastal traffic routes, oceanic routes and river routes, it mentions harbour crafts and foreign ships which paid specific port duties. Sea-going naval vessels were given loans at twenty per cent interest. The department of navigation was charged with the protection of passengers and merchandise. In addition to this, there is a mention of the Superintendent of Ocean Mines. Perhaps the duty of this official was to get the ocean-beds explored. Government boats were lent for this purpose.[11] So much was the rush of foreign traders and artisans that the State had to open a special department to look after their welfare.

Arthaśastra gives numerous references to lands and places in South East Asia.

The Phoenicians, who lived on the narrow neck of land joining Africa and Asia, had brisk trade with East and West during the ancient days. Their ships exchanged the silver plates of Tarshish for the gold dust of Ophir.[12] They took gold, ivory, apes and peacocks from Ophir. The Baveru and Suppāraka Jātaka tales[13] narrate the export of 'Peacocks' by Indians to Babylon. Samutta Nikaya and Digha Nikaya[14] record that sailors used to direct vessels to the coast by observing the movement of birds. Agatharcides (177 B.C.) the

10 U.N. Ghoshal, Nandas and Mauryas; vide Industry Trade Commerce, p. 269. Between 200 B.C.-250 A.D. S. India had brisk trade relations with Western Asia, Greece, Rome and Egypt as well as with China and the East. Embassies were sent from S. to Rome. Indian elephants were used for Syrian warfare. (Imp. Gazeteer. N. Ed., Vol. II, p. 325)

11 Arthaśastra. 45, pp. 273-75.

12 Cunningham, Coins of Anc. India, p. 4.
Ophir is the country on lower Indus called Sindhu-Sauvira by the Indian geographers, Eaperpia by Ptolemy and Iberia by Periplus. Cunningham identifies it with S-W Rajputana (Cunningham, Anc. Geog., p. 643).

13 Baveru is identified with Babylon the Babirush of the inscriptions of Darius. (Cunningham, Coins of Anc. India, p. 4).

14 S.N. III, p. 155; V 51.
A.N. IV, p. 127.
Before second century B.C. there existed a collection of Buddhist texts called 'Pitakas and was divided into five "Nikayas". (Wintermitz., H.I.L., pp. 17-18).

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president of Alexandrian Library describes Sabaea (Yeman) as the centre of trade and commerce between Asia and Europe. It was very wealthy because of its monopoly of the Indian trade. He saw ships coming from Patala[15] on the Indus. India according to Chinese annals of the Han dynasty, had trade relations with Tonkin in second and first century B.C.[16]

The earliest archaeological finds at Oc-co in Indo-China and Kuala Selingsingh in Perak, founded on Neolithic sites are the most ancient Sanskrit inscriptions of S-E Asia. Beyor's excavations in the Philippines have proved that glass and Iron objects found there are identical with the pre-historic glass and finds in South India. South India had a throbbing international life according to Tamil literature of the times. According to Tamil poets, Muchiri near the mouth of Periyar was a very important port. Here Yavana ships used to enter full of gold and precious cargoes, which were exchanged for pepper and rare products of the seas and mountains.[17]

Similarly the importance given to Pukar or Kaviripaddinam (Kumara of Periplus and Khaberis of Ptolemy) is very inspiring. According to Tamil literature, ships entered this port built on the Northern bank of the Kaveri river. The town was divided for trading purposes into two parts, one of which Maruvar-Pakkam adjoining the sea coast had raised platforms, godowns and warehouses. Here the unloaded cargoes were stored and stamped with Tiger-stamp (The Chola kings emblem). After the payment of custom duties the goods were passed to merchants warehouses.[18] Maruvar-Pakkam hummed with the settlements of Yavana-merchants, including vendors of fragrant pastes and powders, of flowers and incense, tailors who worked on silk, wool or cotton; traders in Sandal, aghil, coral, pearl, gold and precious stones; dealers in fish and salt, butchers, blacksmiths, braziers, carpenters, toy-makers etc.[19]. The pirate-Yavanas and others were strictly watched and punished by Chara and other kings.

15 R.K. Mukerji, A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the earliest times; p. 131.

16 P.C. Bagchi, A Comprehensive History of India. II (Ed. K.A. Nilkantha Sastri, p. 772).

17 Erukkaddur Thayan Kannanar Ākam, 148; Oaranar-Puram, 347. (Quoted by R.K. Mukerji, vide Indian shipping, ft. n. 1,2, p. 135).
The pepper in ancient days was produced in areas adjoining Malabar Coast (Mc. Crindle, Anc. India, p. 121).

18 Paddinappalai, 13-136 (R.K. Mukerji, Indian shipping, ft. n. I, p. 136).

19 Chilppathikara n, (*Ibid.*, ft. n. 2, p. 136).

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This port had brisk trade with Ceylon or Elam and Kalakam (in Burma) according to another description.[20] The most important fact of these Chola ports is that they had light-houses built of bricks and mortar to guide ships. It is said that the city of Kaviripaddinam was built by "skilled artisans from Magadha, merchants from Maradan, smiths from Avanti; carpenters from Yavanas and the cleverest workman in Tamil land."[21]

All this is further supported by numismatic evidence, which points to the growth of active Indian commerce with Rome chiefly. Roman coins found in Southern India in and near Coimbatore district of Madura are more numerous than these finds in the North. This may however be due to the fact, that in the South they were preserved while in the North they were melted by the Kuṣanas.[22]

Some of the Andhra Coins found on the East-Coast depict a two-masted ship.[23]

**Evidences From Indian Sculpture**

Ships and boats are depicted in several old Indian representations.

One of the sculptures of Eastern-Gateway of the No. I stupa at Sanchi (2nd C. B.C. represents "a river or a sheet of fresh water with a Canoe crossing it and carrying three men in the ascetic priestly costume, two propelling and steering the boat, and the central figure, with hands resting on the gunwale, facing towards four ascetics, who are standing in reverential attitude at the water's edge below."[24]

During Kuṣana-period, Indians came in contact with the people of central Asian countries and lucrative trade existed via land and sea routes. Kuṣanas came into prominence in the first century A.D. but Satavahanas reigned supreme in the South from the second century B.C. During their time intimate commercial exchange existed between Andhara kingdom and Roman empire. Romans paid gold

20 Paddinappala, 1-40 (*Ibid.*, ft. n. I, p. 137).

21 The Tamils Eighteen hundred years ago, pp. 16, 24, 25 and 26 (*Ibid.*, ft. n. 2, p. 137).

22 Imperial Gazetteer, N. Ed. Vol. II, p. 324.

23 V.A. Smith, E.H.I., p. 190.
R.K. Mukerji, Indian shipping (Reproduced Photo attached).
Satavahanas in S. India were naval power, their coins are also marked with the figure of a ship (K.P. Jayaswal, I.H., p. 244.)

24 General F.C. Maisley, Sanchi and its remains, p. 42. (Quoted by R K. Mukerji, Indian shipping, ft. n, p. 33).

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coins in exchange for Indian luxury goods.[25] The remarkable Greek work 'Periplus of Erythaeon' by an unknown writer and visitor of India in first Century A D., tells us of trade centres and sea-borne commerce between India and the outside world. "It records, Eastward from Baryagaza is a city called Ozene, formerly the capital where the king resided. From this place is brought down to Baryagaza every commodity for local consumption or exports to other parts of India. Onyx stones, porcelain fine muslin, mallow-tinted cottons and the ordinary kinds in great quantities. In imports from the upper country through Proklais for transport to the coast spikenard, Kostos and Udellium."[26]

This tradition seems to have continued. Milandapanho[27] and Mahaniddesa bot. the Buddhist works ascribed to first century A.D. at the latest refer to trading voyages to Eastern ports. Sylvain Levi has proposed certain Sanskrit toponyms along with localities in South-East Asia mentioned in Mahaniddesa.

By the second century A.D. Indians seem to have reached far-off lands such as the Malaya Peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago. Ptolemy (middle of the second century A.D.) has referred to chrse chors (golden land) and Katha Saratsagar refers to journeys by Indian merchants to Suvarnadvipa[28] (Sumatra) during the Satavahana period. Chinese annals and epigraphic evidences refer to states in Malaya

25 J.R.A.S., Jan. 1903, p. 56.

26 (a) Periplus, Sec. 48.

(b) Periplus tells that there were three harbours on the Eastern coast, near Maslipatam, across the Bay of Bengal to the Eastern Peninsula (Schoff's Ed., p. 46).

(c) Silver was scarce in India while gold was cheaper (1-8 ratio). India was the only strapy that paid its tribute in gold instead of silver. (Coinage in Anc. India, p. 51).

27 Milendapanho II, p. 269. records "As a shipowner...will be able to traverse the high seas and go to Vanga or Takkola or China or Souvira or Surat or Alexandria or the Karomandel coast or further India ..."

The authentic portions of Milindapanha probably belong to the beginning of first century A.D. (Winternitz, H.I.L., p. 18). Mahaniddisa is the only source which is regarded as the oldest with a degree of certainty by the present Archaeological epigraphic and non-Indian literary sources (D.P. Singhal, I.W.C., p. 5).

28 Suvarnadvipa is the general designation used for the islands of East Indies (Survarnadvipa I, pp. 37ff).

Pomponius Mela, about the middle of first century A.D. has mentioned Chryse and Argyre the gold and silver islands beyond Ganges (D.P. Singhal, I.W.C., pp. 86-7).

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Peninsula, Java, Cambodia and Annam whose rulers had Indian names in the 2nd century A.D.[29]

All these evidences leave no doubt about the establishment of trade relations via sea-routes between India and South-East Asia by first and second century A.D. But the routes followed by the traders and travellers according to Buddhist records[30] were via Baroch (Barukachha) on the western coast and Tamarlipti (Modern Tumluk[31] in the Midnapur district of Bengal).

Periplus (1 C. A.D.) also records, Baroch as the principal centre of trade in W. India.

*The land Routes* : By the time of Early Buddhist literature, India had established Inland trade routes which were linked up with most distant parts of the country.

*East to West* was the most important route, which ran mainly along the great rivers. The boats plied from Champa to Benaras, the important trading centre. From Benaras it led up the Ganges as far as Sahajati and up the Jamuna as far as Kausambi. Further west the route led to Sindhu, which was famous for its bread of horses and Sanvira or Ophir.

*North to South-West* : The route extended from Kosala's famous capital Sravasti to Pratishthana on the Godaviri. On the reverse direction it included the stations of Ujjayini, Vidiśa and Kausambi.

*North to South-East* : This route ran from Sravasti to Rajagriha. It included the important stations including Kapilvastu Vaiśali, Patliputra and Nalanda.

Ptolemy's Geography has described the whole sea coast the mouths of Indus to those of Ganges. He has mentioned many towns and ports of commercial importance. They include Syrastra (Surat), Manoglosson (Mangrol) in Gujarat, Ariaka (Maharaśtra), Soupara Muziris, Bakarei, Maisolia (Maslipatam), Koungara (Konarak) etc.
Grammar of Dravidian language, p. 94.

29 Vak-Gup. Age, p. 310.

30 Sussondi Jataka, III, 187ff.
Mahajanaka Jataka, No. 5319, VI. 30ff.
Samadda-Vanija Jataka No. 466, IV, 158ff.
Buddha ghosa, Intro. to Samanta Pasadika Vinaya Texts, Vol. III, p. 3388.
Mahavamsa records, Tamarlipti was the most important emporium of Ancient Bengal (XI. 38; XIX. 6). The author of Periplus has referred it as a great commercial city near the mouth of the Ganges.

31 Tamluk is situated on a broad reach or Bay of Rupnarayan river 12 miles above its junction with Hugli. (Cunningham, Anc. Geog., p. 17, Mahavamsa, ft. n. I, p. 59).

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*North-West Route* : Panini refers to this route as "Uttarapathenāhṛtam Ca" (V. I. 17). It stretched along the land of five rivers to the great highway of central and western Asia.

Jatakas[32] tell us of merchants travelling from Kashmir and Gandhara to Videha, from Benaras to Ujjayini and from Magadha to Sauvira etc.

On the bases of Archaeological, literary, epigraphic and legendary records it can be safely be construed that India had lucrative trade with countries beyond its boundaries much earlier than the commencement of Christian era.

**Gupta Period**

The trade relations established during the previous centuries with foreign countries, not only continued but developed so much as to create cultural relations and Indian settlements abroad. Allahabad inscription records the conquest of several islands by Samudra Gupta. The king of Ceylon built Mahabodhi Vihara at Bodh-Gaya. Chandra Gupta II defeated Śakas in the West and opened Gujarat and Kathiawar ports. These ports gave great impetus to foreign trade.

There are numerous references to sea-trade during the Gupta period. Kalidasa[33] has clearly stated the immense wealth was brought by trading merchants from foreign countries.

The great poet[34] by referring to Indian voyages to spice Islands has confirmed India's trade relations with Indian ocean countries. But the voyages seem to have been dangerous due to pirates, hidden rocks, storms and bad vessels.[35] Śakuntla[36] mentions the death of a merchant of Hastinapura due to shipwreck. Not only the sea routes but the land routes were also unsafe. Fa-hein[37] (399-414 A.D.) has described the perils of the Central Asian route from China to India.

32 U.N. Ghoshal,
Mauryas and Nandas, p. 269.
Jatakas II. 248, III. 365. Vimanavatthu commentary, 370 etc.
Jatakas existed in 3rd century A.D. But the prose part can be said to include fifth or even 6th century A.D. as much remained unchanged in India (Winternitz, H.I.L., pp. 155-6).

33 Śak., p. 133.

34 Raghu VI 87.

35 Legge., pp. 112-3. Fa-hein's ship suffered from leakage between Ceylon and China voyage.

36 Śakuntla, VI.

37 Legge., pp. 10-16.

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Though the routes were not free from dangers, the merchants and missionaries continued their activities both by land and sea. Mahavamsa records the voyage of Mohendra (Asoka's son) to Ceylon, to propagate Buddhism. He went by the sea route. The Chinese geographer Chia-tan records in Huang-hua-hsi-chi, Buddhadharma 526 A.D "came floating on the sea to Pan-yu (Canton)".[38] The sea-route via Ceylon was utilised by Fa-hein, Budhabhadra 398 A.D., Samgha Varmi 420 A.D., Gunvarman 424 A.D., Gunbhadra 435 A.D., Sanghvarman 442 A.D., Chinese Buddhist Dharmakarama 453 A.D., Buddhaghoṣa 488 A.D., Buddhadharma 526 A.D., Paramati 548 A.D. etc.[39] According to Periplus (1 C. A.D.) Indian merchants sailed upto Red sea, and Socotia or Dioskorida (of Greeks) which had mixed population of Indians, Arabs and Greeks.[40] Marco Polo[41] (Thirteenth century A.D.) states that this island was a meeting place of Indian pirates for disposing off their loot. This shows that trade with Socotia continued up to his time. The trade with Roman empire in first and second centuries of Christian era was so much that it caused great alarm to Romans. India exported precious stones, cotton, silk cloth, timber, aromatics, herbs, cereals, sugar and spices. As Romans did not have any commodities to offer in exchange they exported gold, silver, copper tin, glass and wine. Pliny[42] condemned the drain on Rome bitterly. The subject he says "is one well worthy of our notice seeing that no year does India drain us of less than $22 million, giving back her own ware which are sold among us at fully hundred times their cost." The imports seem to have continued up to the time of 'Periplus of Erythaeon' and Gupta period.

After Pliny, Ptolemy and Periplus the next important foreign notice about India's flourshing trade is that of Cosmos Indicopleustes.[43] (535 A.D.). He has given a very interesting account of Ceylon and Malabar coast and has preserved a few Tamil words. Ceylon (des-

38 JRAS, 1856. Edkins' Chinese Buddhism, p. 100; India and China, pp. 10-16.
39 J.R.A.S., April 1903; Indian Shipping, pp. 165ff.
40 Periplus, Sec. 30-I, quoted by A.L. Bhasham, studies in I.H. & C., ft. n. 2, p. 152.
41 Marco Polo, Vol. II, p. 389.
42 Pliny, quoted by Baldev Kumar vide Early Kushans, pp. 198-199. Pliny's account seems to be exaggerated (His. Nat. XII. 48(8). Quoted by Cunningham vide Coins of Anc. Ind., ft. n. 23, p. 50).
43 R.K. Mukerji, Indian shipping, pp. 140-4'.
Mcrindle, Anc. India, p. 161.
Dr. Vincent's Commerce of the Ancients, Vol. II, pp. 507-600.

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cribed u der the name of Serendip), as a centre of commerce between China and gulf of Persia and Red Sea. Ships from all parts of India, Persia and Ethopia anchored here and were despatched to foreign countries from this place. Cosmo: is the first Western author to note India's trade relations with China. From Canton were exported precious spices and imported silk of Sinae-Roman China.

The imported articles were supplied to different corners of India mostly via the land routes. Baroch, Ujjain, Paithan, Vidisa, Prayaga, Mathura, Ahichhatra and Peshawar etc. were connected by roads during this period.[44]

**Trade with Rome**

India seems to have had brisk trade with Rome from Augustus to Nero (A.D. 68), as the largest number of coins discovered in Southern India belong to this period. Fifty-five separate discoveries, mostly in Coimbatore and Madras districts, have yielded 612 gold coins and 1187 silver coins.[45] Trade seems to have declined between Nero and Caracalla's (A.D. 217) time...as the coins discovered of the period are very few, and these were mostly in the cotton growing districts of the North. From the days of Caracalla, Rome was a prey to external and internal political turmoil and Romans could not think of spending large sum of money on spices, perfumes and ornaments. The trade again revived slightly under the Byzantine emperors. The localities of the coins discoveries suggest that precious stones, muslins and cottons were not much in demand, and that pepper and spices were shipped from Southern ports both on the East and West coast. It is not surprising to read[46] that Alaric spared Rome in 408 A.D. on obtaining 3,000 pounds of pepper as a part of the ransom.

44 Vak. Gup. Age, p. 357.

45 J.R.A.S. 1904. (SeWell, Roman Coins). During the period from Augustus to Nero, the accidental trade in India reached height, as this was the period of Rome's Asiatic conquests, which made her control the world routes between East and the West. By 47 A.D., the pilot Hippalus discovered the regularity of monsoons in the Indian Ocean and Ships began to sail direct to the port of Muziris (Muyirikolu) in Malabar, which added to the security of cargoes from the attacks of Arabs (Periplus, Ch. LVII).

46 Gibbon, Ch. XXXI. (quoted by R.K. Mukerji, Indian shipping, ft. n. I, p. 127).

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Varahamihira (c. 505 A.D.) mentions Romika in Pañchasiddhantika[47] and Brihat-Samhita.[48] (XVI ch.)

There was flourishing trade between India and Rome during Gupta period. "From the time of Justinian i.e. from B.C. 30 to A.D. 550, their political importance as allies against the Parthians and Sassanians, and their commercial importance as controllers of one of the main trade routes between the East and West, made the friendship of the Kuṣana or Śakas who held the Indus Valley and Bactria, a matter of the highest importance to Rome."[49]

**Evidence of Paintings**

There are representations of boats and ships in Ajanta Cave paintings, mostly in Cave No. 2. These are dated 525-650 A.D. "These were the closing years of the Gupta age, which had witnessed the expansion of India and the spread of Indian thought and culture over the greater part of the Asiatic continent. The vitality and individuality of Indian civilization were already fully developed during the spacious times of Gupta imperialism, which in the end of seventh century even transplanted itself in farther East, aiding in civilization of Java, Cambodia, Siam, China and even Japan."[50] During the Gupta period, India was having brisk trade with Ceylon, Burma, China, Egypt, Rome, Arabia, Persia, Java, Bali.[51] The most important ports, according to Cosmos[52], were Sindhu (Sind), Orrhatha (Gujarat), Calliana (Kalyana), Sibor (Chaul or Chinwal), 23 miles S. of Bombay. Five marts of Male (Malabar), P..rti, Mangarouth (Mangalore), Salapatana, Nalopatana (Nelcyanda), Pandopatana (Ptolemy's Pandoperaura—between Mangalore and Calicut).

47 उदयो यो लङ्कायां···रोमक विषयेऽर्द्धरात्रः सः ।
When there is sunrise in Lanka there is midnight in Romika.

48 गिरिसलिलदुर्ग कोशल भलकच्छ समुद्र रोमक तुखाराः ।

49 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, part I, p. 490, Indian embassies reached Rome to Emperor Julian in 361 A.D. (R.K. Mukerji, Indian shipping, p. 139, ft. n. 2 quotes Eusebius Pompheli, XXII 10).

50 R.K. Mukerji, Indian shipping, p. 39. Reproduced photo (Royal pleasure boat from Ajanta) from Indian shipping is attached herewith.

51 B.S. Upadhyaya, India in Kalidasa, p. 262; S.K. Maity, Economic Life in N. India, pp. 70 ff.

52 Cosmos, XI, pp. 366-367 (Quoted by S.K. Maity, E.L.N.I., ft. n. I, p. 170).
According to Homza of Isopham (5th century A.D.) the ships of India and China could be seen constantly moored at Hira, near Kufa on the Euphrates (Yule's Cathay I. LXXVIII, referred in Indian shipping, ft. n. I, p. 168).

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**Trade Management**

Fa-hein who visited India in the 4th Century A.D. records that the Gupta period witnessed general prosperity. It is true that foreign trade brought immense gold and silver. But the internal resources of income were in no way less. Kalidasa mentions mines of precious stones in Kamrupa[53] (Assam), and pearl fisheries of Tamarparṇi and Indian Ocean.[54] These gems and pearls, shells, corals etc. must have been sold in the interior of the country. Similarly elephants must have carried material from Kalinga, Anga and Kamrupa[55] and to other parts of the country. As rivers were also used for transporting business articles, custom and octroi duties added to the wealth of the country.[56] The whole internal trade was managed by merchants' guild, which utilised home resources, strengthened the internal trade and played a very important part in establishing a strong economy.

**The Guild System**

Since very early times, the Guild system, as an organisation of trade and industry existed in India. Kautalya[57] in his Arthaśastra discusses goldsmith guild elaborately. The system prevailed during the Imperial Guptas in various trades. Kalidasa has used the terms "Naigama"[58] and "Sreshti"[59] to denote representatives of various trade guilds. Raghuvamsa[60] refers to a guild of architects. Contemporary

53 Raghu IV 84. From Ancient times India has been famous for producing gold in abundance but had no silver. Phoenicians, in these days, monopolised the whole trade between East and West and exchanged gold dust of Ophir (Country on the lower Indus called Sindhu-Sauvira by Indian geographers (Cunningham, Anc. Geog., p. 4) for silver plates of Tarshish. Job describe it as 'dust of gold' or particles of gold which is the term obtained from the washing of the Indus.

54 Raghu IV 50.

55 Raghu. IV, 40, 84, VI 27, 54.

56 Raghu XIV 30.

57 Jatakas refer 18 śrenis (guilds) and name four of them as Wood Cutters. Smiths, Feather-dressers and painters.
Jat. I 267, 314; III 281; IV 411; VI 22.
Artha. Sec. 32, pp. 219-225; XI.I.

58 Vik. IV 13.

59 Sak., p. 219.

60 Raghu XVI 38 Paharpur Inscription and Damodarpur C.P. No. 1,2,4, use the terms 'Nagar Sreşthi'; E.I. XV, p. 130, XX, p. 6)

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seals and inscriptions[61] refer not only to merchants and bankers but to weavers, oilmen, and stone-cutters etc. Manu and his predecessors depict guilds as part and parcel of a wider body called Samuha or Varga. Katyayana gives us a glimpse of the internal organisation and status of these groups. The Samuha or a gana functioned according to its establishment rules. According to Yajñavalka the business of the group was managed by elected advisers. The group was entrusted with judicial duties also in addition to their executive work.[62]

According to Katyayana there were four grades of partnership for sharing the profit of the guild, namely apprentice (Śikshaka), advanced students (abhijña), expert (Kuśala) and teacher (acharya). A partner, if he is unable to work himself could appoint a substitute, but was expelled and deprived of profit if he transgressed the rules or followed cooked ways.[63] Some time joint business transactions were done. This was revealed at Vaiśali letters, bearing joint sealings of two merchants attesting their partnership in different transactions. The Vaiśya community was the richest being of business class. As discussed previously they were represented in District councils. The Damodarpur copper plate inscription of the Fifth Century A.D. refers to Sarathvaha Bandhudatta as a member of the District council.[64] This class has contributed much to the cultural progress of the country. Some of them excavated caves and built temples while others were well-versed in folk-lore, and astrology. The Mandasor inscription reveals that the guild of weavers at Daśapura (Mandasor in Malwa) built a Sun temple in the city in A.D. 473-74.[65]

Sometimes these guilds received endowments for constructing temples on contract basis. According to one inscription a guild (Śreni) of oilmen received an endowment for a Sun-Temple in Uttar Pradesh

61 Mandasor Inscription, No. 18 (Fleet C.I.I., p. 79 ff); A.S.I. 1903-4, p. 101 ff.

62 Manu VIII 219-21; Yaj. II 30, 187-92.
Kāt. VV. 668 ff, Brh. P. 151, VV. 8-10.
Cl. Age., p. 392.
Mudraraksasa mentions 'Chandidāsa' as the president of the guild of Jewellers (Mudra., pp. 18-20,28).
Jatakas refer to Sathavahanas whose directions were obeyed by the Carvans. Mahasethi acted as Chief alderman of the guilds (Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, p. 97).

63 Kāt. V. 632, 627 and V. 56.

64 E.I., Vol. XV, pp. 130, 135.

65 Fleet C.I.I., pp. 70-71, 80-91; Mandasor Inscription No. 18.

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on the condition they paid fixed amount of oil for the benefit of the temple. Thus kind was also in transactions for cash.[66]

From Basarh, the site of ancient Vaiśali, nearly 274 seals have been found of guilds of Bankers, traders, artisans and transport merchants, with membership spread over a large number of towns and cities in Northern India.[67] Thus inter-state and foreign trade was brisk. All the seals belong to the end of fourth century A D. Dr. R.C. Majumdar opines that as "no clay tablet contains the sealing of the guild alone; it is always accompanied by the sealing of private individual; as the great guild had its branches in a number of cities, duplicates of its seals must have existed in a number of places, it was therefore naturally felt necessary that the common seal should be used along with the seal of the president or the secretary of each local branch to authenticate its letters". Three merchants, Iśandas seal with the seal of great guild in 75 cases, Matṛdasa in 38 cases and of Goswami in 37 cases, are interesting records to conclude that these merchants must have been presidents or secretaries of important branches of the guild at Patliputra, Gaya or Allahabad.[68]

**Guilds as Banks**

Kumara Gupta and Bandhuvarman's Mandasor Inscription record that the guilds served as banks for advancing loans and receiving deposits. According to the Indore Copper plate[69] of Skandagupta, Devavisnu a Brahmana from Indrapura (modern Indore), deposited a sum of money with the guild of the oil-men of Indrapura, for the perpetual maintenance of a lamp in the Sun Temple.

66 Indore Copper Plate (Fleet, p. 68).
Kautalya has used 'Śreni' word to denote guild of workmen. (Arth.II.4).
I श्रेणयः कृतादिभिः ।
II वास्तुच्छिद्रानुलासेषु श्रेणी, प्रवहणी निकाया आवसेयुः ।
III एकेन शिल्पेन पव्येन व जीवन्ति तेषां सुमुह श्रेणी ।

67 A.S.I. 1903-4; pp. 101 ff.
R.K. Mukerji, The Imp. Gup., 149.
Dr. T. Bloch who discovered Vaiśali seals points out "It looks as if during these days, something like a modern chamber of commerce existed," R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Empire, p. 149.

68 Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. Age, pp. 355-56.

69 Fleet, C.I.I. p. 68. Perpetual maintenance can only be done if the interest was paid by the guild. Hence guild paid interests on deposits like the modern Banks.

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These Guild Banks were so trustworthy that even the kings deposited money with them. According to the Gadhwa Stone Inscription[70] of Chandra Gupta II, the emperor deposited ten Dinaras apparently with a corporate body as a contribution to the perpetual maintenance of a charitable hall or almshouse. His son and successor Kumara Gupta I made two deposits of 13 Dinaras[71] and 12 Dinaras with one or two guilds for the perpetual maintenance of almshouses while Skandagupta, bestowed permanent endowment called 'akshay-nivi' to a guild of Ajapurika town (Bihar Stone Inscrition).

What was the interest paid to the depositors and charged from the debtors ? Manu Smṛti and other literary records give vivid details, of such charges, specially for non-payment of debt. Manu and Kātyayana's information is based upon Gautama and Vishnu Puranas, which lay down a general rule that the interest was not to exceed the principal. But selected articles were allowed maximum interest at special rate. The rates allowed were, "Five times the loan for grain, fruits, wool and beasts of burden (Manu), and eight times the loan in case of gold, grain, cloth and fluids respectively (Yajñavalkya and Narad), four times the loan in case of copper and some other articles (Bṛahspati), twice the loan in case of jewels, pearls, corals, gold and silver, fruits and silken cloth and woollens; five times the same in case of metals other than gold and silver and eight times the same in case of oils, liquors, clarified butter, molasses, salt and Land."[72]

Narada and Bṛahspati have outlined the administrative machinery which helped the whole organisation. There was a president or a chief for every guild assisted by two, three or five bold and honest officers.[73] The Mudraraksa and Gadhwa Stone Inscription of Chandra Gupta II and the Indore Copper Plate of Skanda Gupta refer to presidents of certain guilds. Bṛahspati[74] ordains that a man who neglects the duties of the guild be punished with a fine ranging from six niṣkas to four suvarṇas. Narada[75] imposes severe

70 Fleet, C.I.I. No. 7 (p. 36ff).
71 Gadhwa Stone Insc. of Kumar Gupta I, No. 8 (Fleet C.I.I.) Bihar Stone Insc. (Fleet C.I. I., p. 50).
72 Gautma P. XII 31, 36, *Vishnu P.* VI. 11-15. Manu VIII-151; Kāt. V 509 (general rule against usury). Yaj. II. 39; Rinadana, V. 10; Bri., p. 108; VV, 17 ff, p. 103; V. 24; Kāt. VV. 510-12 (maximum rates in special cases) quoted by Dr. Choshal vide Cl. Age, p. 595.
73 Dr. XVII 9-10.
74 Br. XVII. 14.
75 Nār. X6.

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punishment on persons who cause dissensions among members of the guild.

It is true that guilds were autonomous bodies but the interference of the king in their affairs was not unknown. Bṛahspati explicitly safeguards the interests of the guild members, who could always appeal to the king against the injustice of the guild officials. In certain cases the king had the right to annul the decision of the guild.[76]

Thus, these guilds were very important during the Gupta period. They managed internal and external trade, maintained almshouses and temples, and served as banks for extending and receiving loans.

**Land Revenue**

From the time immemorial, land has been considered the property of the king,[77] and land revenue the most important source of state income. The ultimate royal ownership of the land is traced in early law books and foreign accounts. Manu[78] calls the king as 'Ādhipati' and hence entitled to him half (1/2) share of treasures and minerals. While discussing the income of the treasury, Arthaśastra says 1/3 or 1/4 is the share of the state from fertile areas. Megasthnese[79] has clearly recorded that land was the property of king in India and that besides land tribute, 1/4 of the produce of the soil was paid into the royal treasury.

The Gupta kings took at the time of coronation an oath to look after agriculture favourably.[80] But a survey of Gupta and post-Gupta inscriptions reveals that vast areas of land were given away permanently to religious institutions or to individual priests. This led to gradual accumulation of land in private hands and the growth

76 S.K. Maity. Economic Life in N. India, p. 207.

77 Manu. VIII 29; Mcrindle, Anc. Ind. of Meg and Arri, pp. 41-2; Artha. II. Sect 49, pp. 416-7.
Fleet C.I.I., Insc. Gaya Copper Plate of S. Cupta, Bhitri stone Inc. of Skanda Cupta, Khoh C. Pl. I. of Hastin; Khoh C.Pl. I. of Sivanatha; Arang. C. Pl. of Maha-Sudevaraja, the Siwami C. Pl. of Pravarsena II; the Majhgawan C. Pl. of Hastin Kartalai C. Pl. of Jayanatha of Khoh; C.Pl. of Jayanatha tell about the donations of villages by kings for religious and charitable purposes indicating the king, as the supreme lord of the land.

78 Manu. VIII, 39.
निधीनां तु पुराणानां धातुनामेव च क्षितो ।
अर्धभाग्रक्षणाद्राजा भूमेर्धिपतिहि सः ।।

79 Mc. Crindle, Anc. Indi. of Meg. and Arri., pp. 41-42.

80 Imp. Guptas, p. 346.

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of a class of landed aristocrats known as Zamindars. But the state did charge tax from them. "It should also be noted that neither the state nor the village elders could sell lands singly. But the presence and permission of both were necessary for their disposal.[81] "The literary[82] and epigraphic[83] records clearly state that the state charged one-sixth of the produce and one-sixth of the total amount realised by the owner on the sale or transfer of land.

The ownership as well as the fertility of land varied. So there could never have been uniformity in the realisation of land revenue. Fridpur Plate No. I records: "The land revenue was not uniform or fixed. It varied according to the fertility of the land."

The land grants for religious purposes, set out in inscriptions, mention land-tenure such as Nivi-dharma, Akṣya-nivi-dharma or akṣaya-nivi, aprada-dharma, apradakṣya nivi-dharma or apradakṣaya-nivi-maryada and bhumichidranāya. To quote Dr. S.R. Maity, "an endowment of this type was to be maintained perpetually by the donor, but that he could make use of the income accruing from it."[84]

There were certain land grants which were granted to the individuals in perpetuity and government had no control over them. This land was inherited from generation to generation.[85] But they also paid land tax to the State. Such owners gave the land to tenants for cultivation. The tenants were either paid in cash or were given a part of the produce.

Fa-hein[86] in the 4th century A.D. lists the prevailing land taxes on monastery and royal lands. The royal land was known as Crown land and was directly under the administration of the State. In addition to the land tax, king had many other sources of revenue. According to the Junagarh Rock Inscription, Rudradaman constructed the dam for creating the Sudarśan lake with funds from his own treasury and without oppressing his subjects by means of Kara, Viṣti and Praṇaya. Thus "Kara was not a regular annual land tax but a special tax which might be remitted by conscientious kings."[87]

81 S.K. Maity, Economic Life of N. India, p. 30.
82 Raghu V-8 VI. 75; XVII 65; Śak II.
83 I.A. (Plate A. of Dharmadita, 1910, p. 195, lines 12-14.
84 S.K. Maity, E.L.N.I, pp. 38-9.
85 Fleet C.I I., pp. 135, 171, 164,
86 Legge., p. 43.
87 S.K. Maity, E.L.N.I. p. 82.
Fleet C.I.I. No. 39, L. 37. "para phumi vidivad acharita Kara grahanaḥ purvvam—."

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According to epigraphic and literary evidence, the Gupta kings sometimes exacted dues by temporarily borrowing cows and bullocks for milk and for ploughing Crown lands[88] and for drawing state-carts.

**Irrigation**

Though rains were the main source of irrigation, government also constructed canals from rivers, tanks and wells to take water to distant fields. The Gangadhar Plate Inscription[89] of Visvavarman states that the city built on the banks of Gagra was endowed with a well (Kshirodadhi sparddhinam kupam chenam akarayad) and reservoirs of water in addition to a temple of Vishnu and a temple for divine mothers (Idam dakini—samprok irnnam vesmatyuggram—karyat-punyahetoh—).

King Skanda Gupta spent enormous money to repair Sudershana lake which burst during his reign.

All these artificial means of irrigation were adopted by the state to improve agriculture. Considering the importance of irrigation, the State spent much money and imposed heavy fines and punishment on those who caused damage to them.

*Forests*: These were one of the sources which helped fill the state treasury. Forests yielded timber and other varieties of wood[90] plants, flowers productive of dyes, medical herbs, fruit trees etc. Kalidasa has given elaborate account of forests and forest yields such as lac[91] (Lakṣa), Yak tail[92] for fly whisks, musks[93] (from dear), skins of various animals including the sacred skin of Ruru[94] etc.

The forests of Kalinga, Kamrupa and Anga supplied elephants which served the same purpose as 'Tanks' in the modern army.[95]

*Industry*: Rich forest resources, minerals and plant products offered scope for the development of a large number of industries. Mineral wealth and forests were the absolute monopoly of the state. Kalidasa[96]

88 Raghu I 75-94, II 1-67.
Eran Plate of Buddha Gupta (Fleet, C.I.I., p. 89).
Eran Insc. of Toramans, Fleet C.I.I., p. 160.
89 Fleet, C.I.I. Insc. No. 17, line 37.
90 Sala was the best wood for building. (Raghu I, 38).
91 Raghu XVI 2.
92 Rtu. Sec. VI.
93 Kum. 1, 13.
94 Raghu. III. 31.
95 Kum. IV 40, 83; VI.27 (Indirect ref.).
96 Raghu III. 18 XVII. 66, XV III 22: V. 18.

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mentions mines frequently and refers to Vajra[97] (diamond), Padamarāga[98] (ruby), Pushparaga[99] (topaz), Markata[100] (emerald), Sphatika[101] (crystals), Mani-śila[102], Suryakanta[103] and Chanderkanta[104] (moonglass) etc. The mines yielded gold,[105] silver,[106] copper[107] and Iron[108]. All these metals were utilised for making ornaments, swords and arrows, spades, sickles, ploughspares, hammers[109] etc.

Archaeologists have discovered different instruments e.g. hammers,[110] Chisels axe, a padlock, a plate of iron with holes, a door-ring, a spoon, a dagger, a hatchet and a small iron pot.[111] The Mahrauli iron pillar of Chandra Gupta II near Delhi is the high water mark of craftsmanship in iron work. Similarly artisans worked on other metals during the Gupta period.[112] Pearls, diamonds and other precious stones were largely used in ornaments. The art of pottery, cloth-dyers, moulds etc. was developed.[113] Quite a number of people must have earned their living by manufacturing these items.

The Textile Industry also progressed much in our period. Kalidasa mentions a fine cloth which could be blown by the breath.[114] Coarse cloth for tents and screens was also known.[115]

Carvans loaded with all precious and semiprecious articles moved in the country and on the outside world.

With so many sources of income, the treasury of the Gupta over-

97 Raghu. VI. 19.
98 *Ibid.*, XVIII. 50,59.
99 *Ibid.* 32.
100 U. Megh. 13.
101 Raghu. XIII. 69; Ku. VI 42; U. Megh. 16.
102 Ku. VI. 38.
103 Raghu. XI. 21; Sak. II. 7.
104 U. Megh. 7.
105 U. Megh. 4 (from the sand of river).
106 Rtu. I.I. 13.
107 Ku. I. 44 VI. 51.
108 Raghu. XIV. 33.
109 *Ibid.* Chhotanagpur areas provided gold, copper, iron, Mica etc. (S.K. Maity, E.L.N.I., p. 132).
110 J.R.A.S.B. VI. 1940, p. 83.
111 A.S.I.A.R. 1911-12, pp. 91-2. Quotes S.K. Maity, E.L.N.I., p. 135.
112 Raghuvamsa mentions about a mirror made of gold (Raghu. XIV. 37, XVII 26, XVI. 28, 30).
113 S.K.Maity, E.L.N.I., pp. 143-44.
114 Raghu. XVI 93.
115 Amarkoṣa 6. 120, p. 158.

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flowed. According to Kalidasa, hundreds of mules and camels carried wealth to the royal treasury, which had its own staff.[116]

With this wealth the Gupta kings not only gave unified, secure and stable administration to their empire, but established political and cultural relations with Far-East Asia and South-East Asia.

**Standard of Living**

The economic prosperity brought about a great improvement in the standard of living. Club life, umbrellas, elephants, goats, canes, bows, canopies, halberds, standards and chowries, mentioned in Brihat-Samhita,[117] speak of the luxuries of life. According to contemporary records, the most costly things were reserved for the kings. Kalidasa in Meghduta and Raghuvamsa has given a vivid picture of palaces and other big buildings with attached pleasure gardens and tanks. The palaces and houses of the prosperous were richly built and decorated with paintings. Courtyards of these buildings were paved with crystalline slabs. Mansions had balconies and terraces.[118] The use of precious stones in seats, chowries, canopies, walls, and jewellery worn by the royalty and their attendants is also described by Kalidasa.[119]

Bana in his Kadambari has given a description of the luxurious bath and toilette of a king[120]. Contemporary literature mentions even water jars of emerald crystal, silver and gold. The king is depicted using all sorts of perfumes: musk, camphor, saffron, sandal-paste. Betel leaf was also an item of luxury.

The use of fine cloth, which got blown away by mere breath, is mentioned by Fa-hein and Kalidasa.[121] Ritusamhara gives a descri-

116 Raghu. I. 60 ; V 21,29,31,32.

117 B.S. LXXII 4; LXXIX, 8-9 recommends couches and seats of diminishing sizes for kings, princes, ministers, generals and priests.

118 U. Megh. 3.6, 61 (जलक्रीड़ा) 62; *Ibid.* अक्षय्यान्तर्भवन निधय: । Māl., II 13.

119 Megh. 35, 36; Sak. VI., p. 148; Sak, p. 120 (रत्नशिला).
Māl. II. 6.
Malti VI.

120 Kād. 31-33, 245, 320.
Raghu VI. 60; Kum V. 69; Rtu I. 6; II. 21, 24; III 19; IV 5; Fa-hein, p. 79.

121 Ku. VII; Śak I 30; Ritu IV. 16.
Fa-hein Legge., p. 79. Fa-hein writes that in the great Buddha festival even the figures of devas were made of gold, silver, and Lapis Lazuli, having silken streamers hung over them.

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ption of different dresses worn in different seasons.

The upper society enjoyed a very luxurious life indeed.

**Coins and Economy of the Country**

India's flourishing internal and external trade during the period could have been possible only if the standard of Indian Currency in weight and value was sound. Uptil today sixteen hoards of Gupta coins have been discovered in different parts of the country. All the coins, whether of gold, silver or copper, are of standard value, depict artistic taste and maintain uniformity in weight and value. The earliest coins of ancient world were chiefly of silver and electrum. Silver was confined to India and Greece, and latter metal was confined to Asia Minor. The Indian coins called Purana are all punch-marked, extant all over the country from the Himalayas to Cape-Camorin and from Sistan to the mouth of the Ganges. They are mentioned by Manu and Panini and in the Buddhist Sutras of the same age. The 'Silver Purana' of India may be as old as any of the coinage of Greece and Asia Minor.[122]

The earliest known gold coins belong to the Lydian straters of Croesus and the Persian Darics of Darius. The former are very rare, and Cunningham believes that these were made by refining electrum, as described by Herodotus. The Persian Darics must have been made from the gold dust received as annual tribute from the Punjab. Herodotus specially notes the tribute from India being paid in gold dust.[123] By the end of the 6th Century B.C. Indians had no gold coins but fixed weight of gold bags were used as currency amongst the people.[124]

122 Cunningham, Coins of Anc. India, p. 20.
The story of (Buddhist legend) of Barhut stupa relates the owner of Jetavana garden, prince Jeta, stipulated to part with the land, to the purchaser who would cover the whole surface with coins touching each other. Both scenes represent coins being laid out edge to edge. The pieces are all square. The older sculpture dates 250 B.C. (Cunningham, Coins of Anc. India, p. 20). V.A. Smith regards, Punch marked as "A private coinage issued by guilds and silver smiths with the permission of the ruling power".
Prof. Rapson observes, "All the obverse punches may in some cases be ascribed to individual merchants". (J.R.A.S. 1895, p. 874)

123 Herodotus, III. 94 and 96; 514. Quoted by Cunningham, Coins of Anc India, ft. n. 16, p. 21.

124 Cunningham, Coins of Anc. India, p. 21.
Lydian Pythius possessed not less than 4,000.00. Daric straters, Alexander found 9000 talents of Daric straters, besides uncoined gold's fabulous amount

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Kusanas (I century B.C.), supplanted the silver currency of the preceding dynasties and introduced gold coinage in North India. In Gujarat, Kathiawar and Malwa where Kśatrapas exercised supremacy, the silver currency remained.[125]

When Guptas came to power, they issued their own coinage while adhering to the Roman standard and Indo-Scythian types.[126]

*Chandra Gupta* I is the earliest Hindu king whose gold coins have been discovered.[127–128]

*Samudra Gupta*, like his father, did not issue any coins in copper or silver. He issued six or more types of gold coins in large quantities. His coins are of considerable artistic excellence. Of the six types—standard, Archer, Battle-axe, Lyrist, Tiger-slayer and Aṣvamedha—the last one is very important. The Bayana hoard contains twenty Aṣvamedha coins. They vary in size from 0.75″ to 0 9″, in weight from 112.5 grains to 119 grains. "The average weight of a normal coin is 115 in some cases and 118 in others. They have been found in various places from Patna to Saharanpur. This type of coins are the best specimens of numismatic art of ancient India."[129]

**Chandra Gupta II**

During the days of Chandra Gupta II, the Saka Kśatrapas of Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawar were attacked and completely wiped out from the political map of India after a 300-year rule. This Gupta emperor's rule is a glorious period in the numismatic history of

at Susa, Perse-Palis and Pasargada, Khare of Mitylene one of Alexander's Companion, tells a treasure of 5,000 talents of coined gold was kept in the bedchamber of the Persian king. (Atheneous XII, quoted by Cunningham, Coins of Anc. India, ft. n. 17, p. 21).

125 D.R. Bhandarkar, Lecturers on Anc. Ind. Numis, p. 85 adds that gold and silver currency in both .he regions was so established that when Guptas succeeded these foreign dynasties they had to strike gold and silver coins after the respective models of Kuṣana and Kśatrapas.

126 Cunningham, Coins in Anc. India, p. 51. In South India appeared gold coins called Huns with numerous sub-divisions. The oldest of them are 72 grains—full weight. They bear the names of Chalukyas. W. Elliot dates them 5th & 6th centuries.

127 S. Parkash & R. Singh, Coinage of Anc. India, p. 151.

128 D.R. Bhandarkar, *Ibid.*, p. 95.

129 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 151, 161-2. Gupta coinage (gold) is considerably influenced by the Kuṣana prototype and its meteorology was also the same. (*Ibid.*, p. 181).

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India. He issued as many as 14 types of gold coins. The horseman, the Kartikeya, the Rhinoceros-slayer and the elephant-rider-lion-slayer types are the best specimens of the numismatic art of ancient India. Copper and silver coins were re introduced by him. The latter were a close copy of the Kśatrapa prototype. Perhaps the issue was for the newly-conquered western provinces, which were accustomed to this currency.[130]

His silver coins are very rare and the earliest recorded date on them is 90 G.E. or 409 A.D. They have been mostly found in Western India. Only one coin has been found in Bihar. Their size varies from 0.5″ to 0.55″ and their weight 26.5 to 31 grains, correspond to the coins of the later Kśatrapas. The traces of corrupt Greek legends continue, the date is engraved behind the king's head as on Kśatrapa coins. The Saka era is replaced by the Gupta era.[131]

Eleven copper coins have been discovered in Kumarhar in Patliputra. Chandra Gupta II is perhaps the only Gupta emperor to start regular copper currency. But the extreme rarity of copper coinage show either their subsequent destruction or their not being used in ordinary daily transactions. The latter was perhaps carried on with the help of cowries or by barter.[132]

The copper coinage of Chandra Gupta is fairly original. It does not imitate Kuṣana, Kauṣambi and Ayodhya coinages. The Chattra and Archer types are imitations of the same types in gold. The best type obverse may be the usual type of Huviska in gold. Chakra is the original type and perhaps refers to the Vaishnava faith of the issuer.[133]

**Gold-coated Copper Coins of Chandra Gupta II**

Silver-coated copper coins of the Gupta emperor are not uncommon but Gold-coated copper coins are rare. The were perhaps issued

130 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 151-52. Chattra type vary in size from 0.75″ to 0 85″ in diameter, standard weight is 121 grains-though a few are of 124 grains and none to the standard of 127 grains. (*Ibid.*, p. 167).

Horseman type vary in size from 0.75″ to 0.8″. Vast majority are issued to the weight standard of 121 grains, but a few weight 124 & 127 grains (Coinage in Anc. India, p. 166).

Between 4th & 7th century A.D., there was another type than Panch mark, known as Kśatrapa. (Dr. Bhandarkar, L.I.N., pp. 186-7).

131 Coinage in Anc., India, p. 169.

132 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

133 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 171. Refer ft. n. 130.

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by some mint master for his personal profit or fabricated by some persons in the post-Gupta age.[134]

**Kumara Gupta I**

Compared to Chandra Gupta II and Samudra Gupta, the numismatic activities of Kumara Gupta I were varied and intense. Perhaps the mint masters had developed their art taste and skill in this field. Many varieties were introduced in addition to the king and queen type of Chandra Gupta I, and the tiger-slayer, Aśvamedha and Lyrist types of Samudra Gupta which were discontinued in the previous reign. The Archer, the Horseman, the Chattra and the Lion-slayer types of Chandra Gupta II were continued because of their popularity. Perhaps the emperor was named Kumara, after the Commander-in-Chief of the gods. So a new type of coins showing on the obverse, the king feeding the peacock (the mount of the deity) was introduced. Several new coins were introduced to depict the fame of the king in the war and sports e.g. Swordsman, Elephant rider, Lion-slayer Rhinoceros-slayer and Apartigha types. The interpretation of the last motif is controversial. It shows the king standing with folded hands while being addressed by an agitated lady on the right and a general on the left. These gold coins of Kumara Gupta depict the great skill of the masters.

Kumara Gupta's *Silver coins* also display the active creative vein. He continued the old type of his father for the Western provinces and introduced a new variety of silver coins for his home province. This type was sufficiently original, though it betrayed a foreign element as well. A dozen copper coins have also been discovered.[135]

**Silver-plated Copper Coins of Western type**

A large number of copper coins of Kumara Gupta I have been found from Kathiawar (Walabhi, Wala), with a crude head of the king on obverse and Garuḍa on the reverse. Traces of silver-plating are still discernible on some of them. During the last days of Kumara Gupta, the empire was passing through crises. The treasury must have been affected by these crises necessitating the issue of this debased currrency.

134 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 184.

135 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 171-76. Rhinoceros type, all weigh 127 grains. (*Ibid.*, p. 174).

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These coins are smaller in size than the silver pieces. They vary from 0.35″ to 0.45″ in diameter. The normal weight is about 29 grains, the highest 35.2 grains and the lowest is 22.6 grains.

Smith maintains that some of the coins were originally silver-plated, while a vast majority of them represented genuine copper currency, exactly identical with silver one in size, weight, and legend. But Mr. Allen does not agree with this and holds that all the copper coins were silver-plated pieces intended to pass for silver-currency. Circumstances, political and financial must have compelled the Gupta Emperor to sanction a copper type exactly, resembling the silver[136] one.

Dr. V.A. Smith has classified them according to their different titles while Allen has classified them according to their size, workmanship artistic qualities. Satya Parkash and Rajendra Singh believe that Mr. Allen's classification is also not scientific since some of the coins of Class III described by Mr. Allen as of small and thick fabric are as large as class I coins.[137]

The copper currency apparently follows no definite weight standard. It is neither influenced by Kuṣana currency nor by Pancāla or Kauṣambi or Mathura types. Some of the coins weigh 87 grains and the others vary between 57, 49, 45, 35, 25 & 18 grains. It is very hard to detect any denomination scheme in this weight system.[138]

**Skanda Gupta**

Numismatic variety came to an end with the accession of Skanda Gupta. He issued four types of gold coins and perhaps the 'Archer Type' is the only new variety. This type depicts the war-like activities of the king. Skanda Gupta witnessed the declined fortune of the dynasty and in the beginning of his reign he had to struggle hard to

136 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 176-77.
Bright copper 'blanks' dipped into melted silver, would become coated with that metal. It is just possible that such coins may have been introduced in the royal mint, "and there struck with genuine dies, and the coins thus prepared substituted for an equal number of genuine pieces." (J.A.S.B, 1890, 182). This method cannot arouse suspicion for plated coins till they are thoroughly worn out.

137 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 175.
Allen, Catalogue of the Coins of Gupta Dynasty.

138 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 184.

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recoup it. Though with great struggle he was successful in re-establishing the prestige of his house, he either did not get enough time to think or any new type of coinage or the currency was so much burdened that he could not afford to issue more varieties.[139]

The tendency to increase the weight standard of gold coins continued in Skanda Gupta's time. Gold coins of his father's time were of 127 grains standard weight, though some of them weighed 130 grains. During Skanda Gupta's time 132 grains was the standard weight of king and Laxmi type, Chattra type and the smaller variety of Archer type. He issued a larger size of the Archer type in 144 grains. His horseman type weighed 140.5 grains. May be that these were to confirm to *Suvarṇa* standard of 80 rattis or 144 grains.[140]

Cunningham states that these heavy weight coins are heavily adulterated. But the latest assaying done on Skanda Gupta's coins show that the percentage of alloy in both heavy weight and lighter variety coins is more or less the same. Coin No. 417 of British Museum catalogue is of the lighter-weight standard and contains 26% alloy and coin No. 428 (heavy-weight standard coin) contains 22% alloy only. The coins of early Gupta emperors generally contain 10% alloy.[141] It seems that the financial strain on the treasury and resources was responsible for the determination of the standard of purity. D.R. Bhandarkar opines, that Cunningham's remarks that India produced very little silver, does not agree with Kautalya who speaks of many varieties of silver. But at the same time he does not refute the possibility of scarcity of silver, which night have led to the diminishing of 'Purana' weight.[142]

Mr. E.H.C. Walsh, found in a hoard of Punch-marked coins in Patna some coated with Veridigri deposit, accounting for as much as

139 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 178.

140 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 177-8, 180-81.
Suvarṇa weight and Roman Danarius weights were adopted by Guptas in their gold coins. Soon after the Guptas, Suvarṇa came to be identified with Dinara (D.R. Bhaskar, A.I.N., p. 183). Suvarna are mentioned in Cambay copper plate Charter of Rastṛikuta King Govinda IV.

141 Coinage in India, p. 178.

142 Cunningham, C.A.I., p. 5.
Dr. Bhandarkar, Lect. A.I.N., p. 94, futher he adds (p. 162) that Arthashastra allows 81.25 alloy in silver coins. Silver Karshapans assayed by Cunningham contain only 20% of it. This means, silver had become so expensive that economic exigencies necessiated a higher percentage of alloy being mixed with it in order to maintain original standard value.

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13 per cent of the weight. He attributes this debasement to the additional molted-copper coated on the original silver coins, to make up the weight. This copper has been found over the Punch marks.[143]

*Silver-plated copper coins* have been referred to in Kumara Gupta's time. D.R. Bhandarkar remarks that it was "indeed a cunning mode of multiplying currency in times of political stress, when treasury is depleted but more money urgently required".[144]

Undoubtedly the most convenient method of debasing currency is to increase the admixture of alloy, instead of reducing the weight. Silver-plating and Veridigri deposits found upon copper coins accounted for 13% of the weight of the coins when cleaned. It might have been done to save time and labour; in the politically disturbed periods of Kumara Gupta and Skanda Gupta.

In the earliest period of Chandra Gupta II who had to fight Kuṣanas and Saka kṣatrapas, copper and silver coins must have been introduced by the latter, and then in the later period and must have been coated due to the strain on their treasury and urgency.

The coins depict the economic condition of the country in addition to their being important source of information regarding political, religious, social and artistic tastes of the period.

The study of Gupta coins reveals that the early Gupta coins had 10% alloy and the later Gupta coins had 10% gold content.[145] The number and weight of coins with and without coating of other metals are important factor which echo the prosperity of the country. British Museum authorities have ascertained the gold content of some of the representative types of gold coins of Gupta rulers in their possession.

Gold-content in Skanda Gupta's 'king and Laxmi' type (No. 423) is 72%; Archer type (114 gr. standard), No. 428 is 78% and Archer type (132 gr. standard), No. 417 is 74%; Narsimhagupta's good fabric (No. 560) and Rude fabric (No. 565) contain 71% & 54%, Kumara Gupta II's good fabric (No. 571) and Rude fabric (No. 576) contain 79% & 54% gold; Budha Gupta's class II, without king's name (No. 550) contain 77%; Vishnu Gupta's Archer type (No. 598) contain 43%; Vainya Gupta's Archer type (No. 589) 73%; Prakasaditya's

143 J.R.A.S., 1919, 16-17.

144 D.R. Bhandarkar, A.I.N., p. 164.
"Several of the coins have been debased by the addition of molten copper to the original silver coin presumably to make up for weight. That this was subsequently added is shown by the fact it remains over the punch-marks" (JRAS. 1919, 16-17).

145 Coinage of Anc. India, pp. 179-80.

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13 per cent of the weight. He attributes this debasement to the additional molted-copper coated on the original silver coins, to make up the weight. This copper has been found over the Punch marks.[143]

*Silver-plated copper coins* have been referred to in Kumara Gupta's time. D.R. Bhandarkar remarks that it was "indeed a cunning mode of multiplying currency in times of political stress, when treasury is depleted but more money urgently required".[144]

Undoubtedly the most convenient method of debasing currency is to increase the admixture of alloy, instead of reducing the weight. Silver-plating and Veridigri deposits found upon copper coins accounted for 13% of the weight of the coins when cleaned. It might have been done to save time and labour; in the politically disturbed periods of Kumara Gupta and Skanda Gupta.

In the earliest period of Chandra Gupta II who had to fight Kuṣanas and Saka kṣatrapas, copper and silver coins must have been introduced by the latter, and then in the later period and must have been coated due to the strain on their treasury and urgency.

The coins depict the economic condition of the country in addition to their being important source of information regarding political, religious, social and artistic tastes of the period.

The study of Gupta coins reveals that the early Gupta coins had 10% alloy and the later Gupta coins had 10% gold content.[145] The number and weight of coins with and without coating of other metals are important factor which echo the prosperity of the country. British Museum authorities have ascertained the gold content of some of the representative types of gold coins of Gupta rulers in their possession.

Gold-content in Skanda Gupta's 'king and Laxmi' type (No. 423) is 72%; Archer type (114 gr. standard), No. 428 is 78% and Archer type (132 gr. standard), No. 417 is 74%; Narsimhagupta's good fabric (No. 560) and Rude fabric (No. 565) contain 71% & 54%, Kumara Gupta II's good fabric (No. 571) and Rude fabric (No. 576) contain 79% & 54% gold; Budha Gupta's class II, without king's name (No. 550) contain 77%; Vishnu Gupta's Archer type (No. 598) contain 43%; Vainya Gupta's Archer type (No. 589) 73%; Prakasaditya's

143 J.R.A.S., 1919, 16-17.

144 D.R. Bhandarkar, A.I.N., p. 164.
"Several of the coins have been debased by the addition of molten copper to the original silver coin presumably to make up for weight. That this was subsequently added is shown by the fact it remains over the punch-marks" (JRAS. 1919, 16-17).

145 Coinage of Anc. India, pp. 179-80.

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Horse-man, lion-slayer type (No. 552) 77%; Jaya Gupta's Archer type (No. 614) 34%; Sasārika (Siva & Bull type) (No. 608) 58%; and No. 611 contain 10%.

The purest coins of Skanda Gupta, Budha Gupta, Parkasha Gupta, Narsimha Gupta & Kumara Gupta II contain an alloy of 25%. Some of the coins of Narsimha Gupta and Kumara Gupta were adulterated with only 54% gold, of the currency of Vishnu Gupta is still baser with only 43% gold.[146]

Gupta coins were usually known as Dinaras, according to epigraphs. It is likely that later coins of the heavier weight were known as Suvarna. So far we have discovered only half-dinara weighing 57.6 grains. Kuṣanas issued sub-Dinaras. But the evidence of issue of these sub-Dinaras by Royal (Gupta) mints is very little.

The weight and alloy study of Gupta Coins reveals the economic condition of the age. Gold coins depict greater prosperity than silver and copper coins. The percentage of higher alloy, silver plating and veridigri found upon various types of coins speak of the deteriorating wealth of the country.

From the discovery of two clay-moulds with external diameter of 1.5 inches and internal dismeter of 3/4 inches and a gold coin from Nalanda which exactly fits this mould, it has been proved that the coins were made in clay moulds. It seems that King Baladitya, who was a great patron of Nalanda, had taken some moulds of gold coins there to give a donation of gold dinaras to the university.[147]

146 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
147 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 183.

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# 4

# Religious Life

Bhagvat Gita propagated activity or Karmayoga, contrary to the philosophic tenent of renunciation preached by Buddhism and Jainism. The ideological and spiritual vacuum created by Buddhism and Jainism was filled up by Brahmanism. It revived the old Vedic rituals on the one hand and created a new society with changed religious outlook on the otherside. The expensive Vedic rites were beyond the reach of the common man. The flexible caste system brought new tribal groups into the social structure. So the common gentry adopted a new path of devotion to gods like Vishnu, Brahma and Shiva. Buddha was also deified from the days of Kaniṣka. Moreover Gupta Kings encouraged benefaction on Vaishnavism, and Shaivism as well as Buddhism and Jainism. Thus there was an emergence of a new religious philosophy which later on came to be called Hinduism or Brahmanism. It was a blending of all the previous faiths and religious beliefs. It became the governing faith of millions during the Gupta period. Samudra Gupta is compared with gods Kaṣyapa, Tumbru, Narada (28th line), Dhanada, Varuṇa, Indra and Antaka (26th line) in the Allahabad Inscription and with various gods in coins.

*Vedic Religion*

During the Gupta period Vedic sacrifices were popular with royalty and nobility. Aṣvamedha Yajña was revived by Samudra Gupta and was performed by Kumara Gupta and some Vakataka kings. While the Gupta Emperors contented themselves by performing only

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one sacrifice the Vakataka emperor Pravar Sena and the Ikshavaku king Santāmula performed several Vedic sacrifices like Agnihotra and Panch-Mahayajñas in addition to horse-sacrifice. According to inscriptions (No. 16, 25, 29, 51, 55 and 80) Maukharis of Gaya, though petty rulers performed a large number of sacrifices in the 4th Century[1] A.D.

Kalidasa refers to the Vedic gods Indra[2], Agni[3], Varuṇa[4], Sun[5], Yama[6], Tvaṣtra[7], Dysava-Prithvi[8], Rudra[9] and Vishnu[10], in their various names. But there is not a single individual who ascribed his luck to the vedic deities. These Vedic gods were invoked at religious functions and sacrifices. Kalidasa describes with Puranic imprint, all of them except Agni and Dhyava-Prithvi.[11] He has depicted Sarasvati and Bharati as goddesses of Learning, and has mentioned Saci[12] as the consort of Indra and not as Vedic goddesses. Similarly Varuṇa is represented as water-god.[13] Rudra is identified with Siva,[14] and Surya is referred to as Savita.[15]

*Vaishnavism*

The germs of Vaishnavism can be traced back to the Vedas.[16] Nilmatpurana gives a prominent place to Vaishnavism and has written about Vishnu[17] incarnation as the Buddha. The Puranic Vishnu, acquired boundless power during the Gupta period. Samudra Gupta adopted the emblem of Garudadhvaja and Chandra Gupta II called himself Parama Bhagavata. An inscription of Parivorajaka-Maharaja

1 Fleet, C.I.I., pp. 71. 115-6, 131-32, 199-200, 290.
2 Raghu. II. 50, 42, 74; III. 23, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 53; Ku. I 23; Śak. p. 140
3 Raghu. X 50, 51; I 6; V. 25; Śak. 30.
4 Ku. II 23, Raghu. IX. 6, 24.
5 Ku. VII 41-44; Śak. VI 30, p. 140.
6 Ku. II. 23. Raghu. II. 62.
7 Ku. VII. 41. Raghu. VI. 32.
8 Raghu. X. 54.
9 Ku. II. 26.
10 Māl. V. 2; Kum. III. 13; Raghu. III. 27, 49.
11 Baldev Upadhya, India in Kalidasa, p. 297.
12 Raghu. IV. 6; Ku. VII. 90.
Rig. I. 3, 10, 11, 12, 22, 10.
13 Raghu. X. 79.
14 Ku. II. 26; Raghu. II. 54.
15 Ṛtu. I. 6.
16 Rig. I 156, 2, 3; I. 22, 19; IV. 18. 11; VIII. 89. 12.
17 Nilmata (Ed, by Vreese) v.v. 60-65, 1206-7, 684-689.

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Samkshobha opens with the prayer 'Om Namo Bhagavate Vasudevaya.[18] As worshipper of Vishnu, Chandra Gupta II introduced coins with the legend 'Parambhagvata-Maharajadhiraja Sri-Chandra Gupta on the obverse and Ajitavikramah on the Reverse.[19] The Gupta kings introduced Garuḍa in the obverse of the Coins and Goddess Lakshmi, and Chakra (Vishnu's wheel) on the reverse. According to literary and epigraphic records of the Gupta period Vishnu was worshipped under various names like Atambhu, Chakrabhṛiti, Chakradhara, Gadhadhara, Chakrapani, Chitrakut Swamin, Govinda, Jnardana, Muradvish Madhava, Madhusudana, Nārayana, Varahāvatara, *Śveta Varaha*-Svamin, Damodera, Sarṅgapaṇi and Vasudeva.[20] It shows that Brahmanas in their enthusiasm to popularise Vaishnavism made all the gods as avataras of Viṣṇu. Most of the Purāṇas are a testimony to this Vayu Puraṇa assigns unlimited powers to Viṣṇu. He is said to have seven incarnations including those of

18 Inscription No. 25.
Hindus had freed themselves from the political and social tyranny of Kuṣanas. Buddhism was rejected by the masses as it made them weak and submissive. The task of giving a constructive faith was left to S. Gupta. He gave it in the form of his faith in Bhakti in Vishnu and the other Gupta emperors followed him. This faith of the Guptas in which they merged and dedicated all their deeds was transmitted to the whole nation and even to dvipas. The aspects of God worshipped during Bharsiva to Vakataka period were, Almighty a destructor, a giver and a social ascetic who keeps no wealth, possess no material splendour and is austere and sombre. But second Gupta king and Samudra Gupta has invoked a 'rajas' or a royal God who "wears gold and not ashes, who builds and reigns, protects and rejoices in plenty, who is the traditional god of Hindu sovereignty. Viṣnu is the King among gods, is magnificiently dressed, stands erect and solid and upholds the kingdom of His men, as a hero and coquering lord in battle—whose emblem is Chakra—the symbol of empire; which irresistibly destroys the forces of evil against that Empire of Lord Viṣnu. There is the Conch in one of his hands for announcing battle and for announcing triumph. There is in the third, the sceptre of rule and finally there is the lotus in the fourth, the symbol of prosperity, growth and rejoicing for his subjects. The belief in the God-in-royalty, Samudra Gupta made the belief of his dynasty and the belief of his Country". (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 120-21).

19 Chandra Guptas' Coins.

20 Fleet, I.C.C. Inscription Nos. 51, 14, 17 and 47 17, 55, 66, 15, 19, 79, 42, 17, 36, 39, 42, 33 and 25.
Viṣnu Purana deals with the worship of Vasudeva—a purely Vaishnava doctrine. It preaches even the worship of this god by Mlechchhas and all caste.
Viṣnu Purana. Sec. 7.84-90 propagates worship of formed Vishnu to formless Vishnu.

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Krishna and Varaha. He is demon-destructor and defeated even Indra. He is the creator of the three-times (Trikal), and originator of Mahurta days, dates and seasons. He is the repository of three vanas, three vidyas, three fires, three Karmas, three gunas and three mayas. In this Purana, Vishnu praises Śiva and Śiva praises Viṣṇu.[21] Narada, Bhagavata, Garuḍa, Padma and Varah Puraṇas exalt Viṣṇu to a very high level.[22] The Agni Puraṇa recognises the swan (Hans) as incarnation of Viṣṇu (Ch. 2-16). Viṣṇu killed the demon Hayagriva (Bhagavata Puraṇa XI 4.17) ; and in Narsimhavatar saved Prahlad from the cruel treatment by his father (Viṣṇu Pu. I. 2, 32, Bhagvat Pu. VII 8.12 ff) and Padam Puraṇas (Sṛṣti Khand Chs. 42-43). Nilmata Puraṇa (500-2) refers to Viṣṇu in the Ramavtar. Matsya Puraṇa assigns unlimited human and super human powers to Viṣṇu. The description of Viṣṇu's fight with 'Kalname' is worth noting for the destruction of demons he effects. With Shankha (Conch), Chakra (wheel), Padma (lotus) and Gadha (mace) and with Garuḍa as Vahana, Viṣṇu is described as the Narayana incarnation. He is all right, coveted as well as destination of yogis, self-born and has water as his abode.[23] Brahma instructed gods to worship indestructable Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Kurma (tortoise) before Churning the ocean.[24] All the devas and danavas worshipped Viṣṇu who was the destroyer of Karabha Demon, abode of unlimited light and power, and powerful enough to either destroy or protect the earth and the underearth.[25] Nilmata Purana refers to Vishnu's Avataras, naming Varaha (vv 1159, 1208), Matsya (vv 39, 1161), Kūrma (v. 1161), Haṁsa (v 1161), Aśvaśirsa (vv. 1161, 1210), Narsimha (vv 1150, 1153, 1159, 1209), Trivikrama (v. 1210), Ram Daśarthi (v. 500), Madhusudana (v. 716), and Buddha (v. 684).

Dr. A.S. Altekar writes that Vaishnavism became very popular in Northern India due to the remodellers of the Puraṇas, while its

21 Vayu Puraṇas Sec. 59; Sec. 60. 125 verses are in praise of Vishnu in Vishnu Mahatamya Kirtan.

22 Wilson, Viṣṇu Pu., Tr., Vol. I, pp. XV-XXI.

23 Matsya Puraṇa, Sec. 71. ग्रान्सुस्वपन्नाद्य, स्वयंम्भुवः ।

24 Matsya Puraṇa. Sec. 112. V. 16
प्रार्थयतां कूर्मरूपश्च पाताले विष्णुरूपय ।
S.B. mentions Vaman as Vishnu's Avtar (7.5;1.5), while M. bh. XIII 349.37, 399, 77-90, 39). 104, tell Matsya, Kurma Varahs as Vishnu's incarnations.

25 Matsya Purana. Sec. 112 vv. 36-82.
Narad Puraṇa, Contain Variety of prayers for Viṣṇu.

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popularity in Southern India was due to the devotional songs of the three Ālvars, Saroyogin, Bhutayogin and Mahadyogin.[26]

Kalidasa in his Kavyas and dramas has assigned all the natural and super-natural powers mentioned in Puraṇas to Vishnu. In Raghuvaṁśa, the poet depicts Him as the origin and the end of the universe and as one possessing the eight virtues (Animādigunopatam).[27]

A large number of Vishnu temples (No. 42) were constructed during the Gupta period by rich devotees. Sometimes a flag-staff or Dhvaja Stambha (No. 19) was erected at the temple as a symbol of worship. The famous Mahrauli (No 32) inscription calls itself by this name. A Sanakanika chief constructed a Vaishnava cave at Udayagiri in 401 A.D. and decorated it with sculputres of four-armed Vishnu and twelve-armed Lakshmi. Two inscriptions (3 & 17) refer to the Vaishnava festival of Śayana-ekadasi. Inscription No. 66 found in Daśāvatara temple names Vishnu as one of the Avataras.[28]

Bhitri stone pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta records the installation of an image of Viṣṇu.

The Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta in Sanskrit is written in praise of Viṣṇu. Here he has been given a higher position than Śiva and Brahma. Siddham (II+) Sriyam-abhimata-bhogyam maikkal-āpanitam tridaṣapati-Sukh-artham yo Baler-ajahara kamala-nilayanayah Saśvatam dhama Lakshymyah.

It exalts Viṣṇu by referring to the ancient myth of Bali and Indra wherein Viṣṇu comes to the rescue of Indra, the lord of gods and helped him to outwit Bali and get back 'Laxmi' and other pleasures. (See Appendix A).

*Buddhism*

Buddhism split into eighteen sects[29] after the Nirvaṇa of Buddha.

26 Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup Age, p. 371.

27 Raghu. X. 77.

28 Fleet, C.I.I. Insc. No. 17 (Vishnu temples), No. 3 is a Vaishnava cave and Vaishnava inscription.
No. 19 (pp. 88-9), 32 (p. 140).
Insc. No. 66 is at present lying in the Imperial museum Calcutta (Fleet, C.I.I., p. 267).

29 I-tsing, Takakusu, p. 6.
Toung Pao, Vol. V, pp. 278, 290.
Bu-Ston (Tr. by Obermiller 1932), Part II, pp. 97-99; Chiefner, p. 59;
Nanjio Catal, Nos. 1285 and 1286.

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During the days of Guptas, the three or four sects that had survived carried on with their activities. A large number of seals, images, inscriptions, and manuscripts written in Gupta characters show that early Hinayana schools particularly the Sarvāstivādas, the Sammitiyas or the Vatsiputriyas and Therā or Sthaviravada—flourished.[30] The monks of each sect busied themselves with the propagation, elucidation and elaboration of their ecclessiastical rituals and ceremonies. They invited the interest of many local rulers and rich devotees who bestowed much money for the construction of monasteries, chaityas, pillars and even caves.[31] The rulers, rich devotees and even monks, and nuns, in addition to such munificient endowments, gave villages as monks land for their subsistence.[32]

The Sarvāstivāda sect seems to have invited more interest[33] though all the sects were based upon the teachings of Lord Buddha[34] and all

Watters Y. Ch., preface p. 21 and Y. Ch., p. 162 (One hundred years after the Nirvaṇa of Buddha, probably a council at Vaiśali was convened to discuss the points of controversy over Vinaya and Dharma principles, Certain Buddhists held a separate meeting at Kaushambi. As the Vaiśali Buddhists were very old they were known as Sthaviras, and the latter were known as Mahasanghikas. These two branches of Buddhism were further sub-divided in 18 sects. (Winternitz, H.I.L , p. 5; Rahulji, Buddhacharya, Intro., p. 2).

30 Śarvāstivādins are also called Hetuvadins or Vibhajyavādins with the Vatsiputriyas and their sub-divisions of Dharmottariyas Badrayanniyas, Sammatiyas or Sammityas and Sannagarikas (A.B. Keith, Buddhist philosophy, p. 150).
The Cl. Age, pp. 368-9.
I-tsing, Takakusu, Intro., p. XXII; Winternitz, H.I.L., pp. 231-32.

31 Fleet, C.I.I. 71, 73, 6; E.I. Vol. VII, part II, April 1902, pp. 49, 56, 61, 63, 64, 66, 71.
(a) Plates Nos. 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20.

32 Karle Cave Inscriptions vide No. 13, 14, and 19; E.I. Vol. VII, pp. 49-64.
No. 19 inscription belongs to one of the kings (Gupta period) which records, "For the support of the Sect Mahasanghik-as...dwelling in the caves of Valuraka...we give as monks-land, the village Karajaka here in Māmala district in the Northern road...the deed was executed by Sivakanda Gupta in the 14th year on the first day of the night of rainy season".
Inscription No. 19 records the donation of a "Village to the community of Valuraka with taxes ordinary and Extraordinary with its income fixed or proportional". (E.I., Vol. XII, p. 61).
Fleet, C.I.I. Incriptions Nos., 5, 62, 69, 70, 72.. No. 23 record that certain person named Mahadevideva gave the village of Valugarta to certain Brahman in 510-11 A.D.

33 J.P.T.S., 1905, p. 68.

34 Bu-Ston (Tr. by Obermiller 1932), p. 97.
N. Dutt, Outlines of Mahayanas, p. 24.

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believed in Moksha as the ultimate end.[35] This was based on Vinaya and Abhidharma principles.[36]

Sarvastivada school is one of the oldest.[37] It was closely related to the orthodox Theravada school from which it was probably separated before Aśoka's Council. Its principle 'Sabban Aiti' may be attributed to Buddha himself.[38]

It developed 100 to 200 years after Buddha's Nirvana,[39] and acquired great popularity from Aśoka's (C. 273-236 B.C.) reign to the time of I-Tsing's (671-695 A.D.) travels in India.[40] Its recorded history begins with Katha Vathhu of Moggaliputra Tissa, who was the head of Aśoka's Council.[41] The founder of this sect, according to the Tibetan tradition, was Rahul Bhadra,[42] while according to popular belief it was founded by Upagupta in Mathura and Majjhantika in Kashmir.[43]

During Fa-hein's time, this School flourished in Patliputra as well as in China.[44] During Yuan-Chwang's (629-645 A.D.) time it was

35 N. Dutt, Outlines of Mahayanas, p. 24.
36 Rahulji, Intro. to Buddhacharya, p. 2.
37 J.P.T.S. 1905, p. 67.
38 Takakusu, Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 57.
Dipavamsa (4th Century A.D.) mentions it.
39 I-Tsing, Takakusu, Intro., p. XXI.
Rahulji, Intro. to Buddhcharya, p. 2.
40 Takakusu, Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 56.
41 Takakusu, Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy, p. 56.
I-Tsing, Takakusu, Intro., p. XXI. Kathavastu or Kathavatha discusses the points of controversy between different sects, majority of which leaned to Mahasanghika school (H.P. Shastri, Adv. Vajra Sang, Intro., p. XX).

Kathavathhu in the Abhidharma Pitka was composed by Tissa's son of Moggali at the court of Aşoka at Patliputra in the middle of 3rd Century B.C. This tradition is not recorded till 5th Century A.D. in the commentaries of Dhammapala and Buddhaghoşa (Mrs. Rhys Davids, Pts. of Controversy, p. XXX). Winternitz on the basis of La Valle Poussin believes that the real work may have been written by Tissa in 3rd Century B.C. but the work which we get contains numerous additions made from time to time (Winternitz, History of I.L., pp. 170-71).

Kathavathhu contains the account of the sects and School which sprang up in the earliest Buddhist Community (Winternitz, H.I.L., p. 208).

42 The Age of Imp. Unity, p. 380.
43 N. Dutt, Hina and Maha., p. 32. In Aşokavadana Buddha goes to Kashmir and predicts the conversion of the country by Medhyantika (L.E.A. Intro., p. 2). Majjhantika was a thero who lived in the time of Moggaliputa Tis a according to Buddhaghoşa vide Vinyapittam (Ed. by H. Oldenbrg, p. 312).
44 Fa-hęin, Legge., Ch. 39, p. 99.

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found in Kaşgar, Udyana and several other places on the Northern frontier, in Malipura, Kanauj, near Rajgriha in Northern India and also in Persia.[45] By 671-695 A.D., according to I-Tsing, the chief centres of the School were Magadha, Lata (Gujarat) and Sindh. South India and East India had a few followers. It prevailed largely in Java, Sumatra and Champa (Lin-yi). Cochin, China had a few followers and the minor sects of the school flourished in South-western and Eastern provinces of China and Central Asia.[46] From all available records, it is clear that both Hinayana and Mahayana schools of Buddhism continued to prosper during the Gupta period.[47] During Samudra Gupta's[48] time, a monastery was built at Bodh Gaya by the King of Ceylon. Very little is gathered about the state of Buddhism during the reign of Rama Gupta and Chandra Gupta I. But contemporary epigraphs and travellers' accounts prove that Buddhism enjoyed state patronage during the days of Chandra Gupta II.[49] An inscription dated 412 A D. records the gift of a village to a Vihara at Sanchi along with 25 dinaras. The interest on the

45 Y. Ch. I. Watters, p. 322. Mo-ti-pu-lo (Malipura country) had ten monasteries with more than 8000 brethren adherents of Sarvâstivādā.
J.P.T.S. 1891, p. 420.
Fa-hein, Legge., p. 22.

46 I-Tsing, Takakusu., Intro., pp. XXII—XXIV.
Fa-hein (399-414 A.D.), Parmartha (449-569 A.D,) Yuan-Chwang and I-Tsing use the word 'Sa-pho-to' for Sarvastivada (J.P.T.S., 1905, p. 72).

47 Fa-hein, Legge., p. 41. At Pe-too (Bhida—in Punjab) Mahayana and Hinayana monks studied together (ft. n. 7 also).
At Lo-e, 3000 monks studied Mahayana and Hinayana. Legge identifies Lo-e with a portion of Afghanistan.
According to Hinayana doctrine Nirvana meant a total and absolute extinction, which can be attained by meditation on four noble truths. Pratyeka Buddhas and Śravakas were its two main sects. Mahayana, a later development was a devotional cult. The worship of Buddha was an important part of it. According to it the deliverence from desire can be achieved by the practice of all the virtues and knowledge of Buddhas (La Vallae-Poussin, Hastings Encyclopedia Art Mahayana quoted by K.M. Pannikar, Shri Harsha of Kanauj, ft n. I, p. 40).

48 A.I.

49 Fleet, C.I.I. No. 5.
Sanchi Stone Inscription of C.G. II. Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 28-29, 41.
"—pancha bhikshavo bhumiatam.
ratna-gṛiha (Cha-di) pako Jvalatu.
(H) m ama Cha-āpar-arddhat—
—dipaka iti (11+) Tad=etat.
paritrittam ya Uchchhnidyat=Sa go=Brahma-hatyaya Samyukto Bhavet=
panchabhis cha=āna."

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amount was to be spent on five Bhikshus and a lamp. Another inscription[50] of 448 A.D. records the installation of an image of Buddha in a Vihara. It begins with "Om Namo Buddhanam... iyam pratima pratishthapita bhikshu Buddhamitrena...".

An Inscription (No. 62) of the time of either Kumara Gupta or his son and successor Skanda Gupta records the grant of money by a woman to Arya-Samgha Bhikshus of Sanchi Vihara. It also refers to four images of Buddha previously installed in the Vihara. Two inscriptions, of fifth century A.D. in Sanchi and Deoriya, on Buddha's image are famous.[51]

Fa-hein, who visited India in 399-414 A.D., mentions various flourishing monasteries between Po-too (Punjab) and Mathura, where myriads monks lived. In Mathura alone, there were twenty monasteries with 3000 monks. These monks were respected and honoured by the kings since the time of Aśoka. The kings never sat on higher seats in their presence. They fed them with their own hands. The pilgrim narrates that after Buddha's death, kings and heads of Vaiṣya guilds built Viharas for the monks and endowed them with lands, houses, gardens, orchards and cattle. These grants are engraved on plates of metal so that none dared annul them.[52]

In central India, Fa-hein found Brahmanas worshipping Buddha and even though Buddhism was not dominating religion there. In Patliputra, Mahayanists and Hinayanists took out the annual image procession. Buddha worship was common all over the country.[53]

Kalhana, Bu-Stone, Pag-Sam Zon-Zang, Fa-hein, and Yuan-Chwang narrate how prosperous Buddhism was in Kashmir from the first century A.D. to the 7th century A.D. Nilmata Purana gives a vivid picture of Buddha's birth-day celebrations.[54]

Hence it can be said without doubt that although Gupta emperors were orthodox Hindus, they never imposed their personal religion on their subjects.

50 Fleet, I.C.C. No. 11.

51 Inscriptions Nos. 62, 68, 73.

52 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 41, 42-43.
G.H. Ojha Vide The Paleography of India, p. 151 writes that according to Jataka tales sometimes royal orders were written on gold-plates or gold leafs.

53 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 46-47, 79.
Fa-hein, Giles, p. 47.

54 Nilmata Purana vv. 685-690. For details please see History of Buddhism in Kashmir.

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*Buddhism and Tantarism*

The Tantric ideas of incantations and magic spells in the Vedas (especially the Atharva Veda) have a great influence on the Hindu mind. Even Buddhism could not dispense with them.[55] Dhammapada's commentary (C 450 A.D.) records that Buddha on a drinking festival sent a ray of light from his eyebrow and there was black darkness.[56] Buddhists borrowed Dhārni (Paritta in Pali) or the magical formula from the Vedas.[57] Dhārnis are mentioned in Milindapann,[58] Cullavagga[59], Jataka Tales[60], Digha Nikaya[61] and Lankavatar Sutra.[62] Fa-hein also has written that Mahayanists made offerings to Prajñaparamita (i.e. Tara), Manjuśri and Avlokiteśvara.[63] Yuan-Chwang who visited India after nearly two centuries writes that Stupas were dedicated to Manjuśri and Bodhisattvas.

During the Gupta period, Brahmanas, Hinayanists and Mahayanists worshipped Buddha, while Prajñaparamita or Tara and Manjuśri were also worshipped by Mahayanists.

Though both the schools flourished side by side during the Gupta period, undoubtedly this was the golden age of Yogachara School of Mahayana philosophy. Asanga (310-390 A.D.), a Brahman convert from Peshawar, wrote the most authoritative work, Sandhinirmochana Sutra, in this period. The foundations of Buddhist logic were

55 Winternitz, History of Ind. Lit., Vol. II, p. 380.
56 Buddhist Legends, Part I, p. 38.
57 Winternitz, History of Ind. Lit., Vol. II, p. 380 and ft. n. 2.
Nariman, Hist. of Sanskrit Buddhism, p. 112.
Dharni is the protective magic formula. Its efficacy rests on repetition. It can be worn on person in an amulet shape with a mantra written on a birch-bark or palm leaf (N. Dutt, Gil. Miss., Vol. I, p. 6).
58 Questions of King Milenda, Rhys Davids, p. 213.
59 Cullavagga vide Vinyapitaka (ed. by Oldenburg), V. 6.
60 Jataka No. 293.
61 Digha Nikaya. 32.
62 Lankavatar Su. Tr. by Suzuki Ch. IX.
63 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 44, 46.
Tara as the highest Buddhist deity is found in Mahapratyangira Dhārni. This has been discovered from Central Asia and is written in Gupta Characters of 7th Century A.D. Her Tibetan name is golma. (Nariman, Hist. of Sanskrit Buddh., p. 111). Dharnis discovered (Gilgit MSS) from a stupa in Gilgit belong to 5th and 6th Centuries. (Please refer to, History of Buddhism in Kashmir.)

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laid in this period by Asanga's younger brother Vasubandhu in his work Tarakśastra.[64]

According to Fa-hein's account and other literary and Epigraphic records, Buddhism flourished not only in Northern India, Kashmir and Gandhara, but in Punjab also. Numerous Caves at Ajanta and Ellora show that they were famous centres of Buddhism. Andhra was studded with Buddhist Stupas and Viharas. The most famous of these were at Nagarjunakonda discovered in the thirties of this century.

The Saranath Museum stores a number of Bodhisattvas of the Gupta period, nearly all of them bearing on their crown the miniature figure of their respective spiritual fathers Amitabha, Amoghsiddha, and Aksobhya, the Dhyani Buddhas. It is evident that the early Buddha motifs were falling in devotion and Dhyani-Buddhas and Dhyani-Bodhisattvas were coming into prominence. This paved the way for Vajrayana form of Buddhism.[65]

The prominent religion before the rise of Guptas, Buddhism waned slowly due to the influence of Tantrism and Puranic literature. Viṣṇu Puraṇa, Agnipurana, Bhagvat Puraṇa and Vishnu Dharmottra Puraṇa indirectly deprecated the teachings of Buddha and propagated the worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other deities. Buddhism slowly lost its hold on masses and paved the way for the success of Hinduism or Brahmanism patronised by the Gupta emperors.

*Jainism*

By the end of the third century A.D., Jainism had taken firm roots in India. Starting from Magadha, it had slowly reached up to Kalinga in the South-East, Mathura and Malwa to the West and Deccan, and Tamil lands to the South. After a patronage by kings in Northern India for a while, lost its hold there and the centre of its attraction shifted to the South.

With the coming of Guptas, and loss of state patronage, there was a further decline of Jainism. It seems however to have remained a popular religion with the middle classes. There are a few inscriptions

64 Cl. Age, pp. 384-85.
Vak-Gup. Age, pp. 385-86.
For details about Vasubandhu, please refer to History of Buddhism in Kashmir, pp. 60-61.
65 Cl. Age, pp. 392-94.

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of the period (C. 500 A.D.) in South India to indicate this (E.I. VII 1902, p. 2).

There are two inscriptions of Kumara Gupta's time: The Mathura (432 A.D.) Inscription records the construction of an image of Jinavara Parśva by a lady, and the Udayagiri Inscription in Malwa (426 A.D.) records the erection of a statute by a private devotee.

The Kahāum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta's time (A.D. 461) records the fashioning of five stone images of Tirthankara in the niches of a stone pillar.[66] Kalidasa refers to the usage of Prayopaveśena, the Jain way of committing suicide.[67] The rational tendency of the age gave a great impetus to the progress of logic among the Jains. Nyayavatara of Siddhasena Divakara (5 C. A.D.) is the first systematic Jain work on logic.[68]

*Saivism*

Śiva worship was popular in India since Mahabharata times. In Drona Parva, Rudra is omnipotent and the supreme master. He is called Mahadeva as he protects the universe; Tryambaka, as firmament, water and earth goddesses adore and have recourse to that lord of the universe; Harā as he is the destroyer of Brahma and Indra; Yama and Kuvera and Bhava, as he is the origin of past, present and future.[69]

Though most of the Gupta emperors were worshippers of Vishnu, Śaivism, flourished under their sway like other forms of Hinduism. The prevalence of Śiva worship is testified by Kalidasa's works, numerous inscriptions and sculptures pieces of art. The earliest probable Śiva-linga of the period bears the A.D. 436 date.[70] Kumara Gupta (415-55 A.D.) though follower of Vaishnavism favoured the Skanda cult. He gave the name 'Skanda' to his son and issued peacock coins.[71] Chandra Gupta II was a Vishnu worshipper, but his two ministers named Sambhu and Mahadeva-Prithiviśvara-Saileśaraśvami were great devotees of Śiva. One of them constructed the

66 Fleet, C.I.I. No. 15.
67 Raghu VIII. 94.
68 Dr. Altekar, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 393.
69 M. Bh. Sec. CC. 11 (Tr. P.C. Roy), pp. 119, 123, 130, 133, 154).
70 R.K. Mukerji, Gup. Emp., p. 131. The inscription mentions a Shiva procession called Devadroni. The insc. has been found in Fyzabad.
71 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 71-72.

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Cave number Six and the other granted land for Śiva worship.[72] This clearly shows that the religion of the king was not the religion of the State and there existed freedom of worship.

Kalidasa devotes the whole work of Kumara Sambhava to Śiva-Parvati, and the birth of their son Kumara or Skanda. The poet attributes eight forms to Śiva[73] and calls him Iśa,[74] the supreme lord all prevading, the beginning and the end of universe, the abode of five elements, mind, individuality and crude matter. The Aṣtamurti Kinkara is uninvested with the power of permanency like the Himalaya and is called the remover of darkness (कैलाशगोरं).[75]

From Kalidasa's works Inscriptions and Puranas it can be construed that Śiva was the most powerful god of the Gupta period. Vayu Puraṇa lavishes all super powers to Mahadeva.[76] All available records give so much importance to Śiva that River Ganges is depicted as issuing from his matted tresses and is given all veneration. This tradition of the Gupta period continues to the present day.

Puranas call Śiva the Deva of the devas, Girish and omnipresent Vishvarupa having a thousand arms and a thousand eyes. All fiery aspects are attributed to him and he is called Pashupati as well. He is the origin of Rigveda, Samveda, and Yajurveda. He is Maharishi, cloud, lightening, Tapas, Tripura destructer, Deepatchakra

72 R.K. Mukerji, Gup. Emp., p. 131.
Shiv-Puraṇa, though propagates shaivism, it like Hinduism preaches Dhyana-yoga as well e.g. Nasti Dhyanam Bina jñanam (Shivpurana, vide Shiv Dhyana yoga, (I-67) verses.

73 Śak. II; Water, fire, priest, sun, moon, ether (aksha) earth and air; Raghu II, 35. Malinatha enumerates eight forms (Astamurti) as Rudra, Bhava, Sarva, Isa, Pasupati, Bhuma, Ugra and Mahadeva.

74 Śak. I. I; Mal. I. i.
Aṣtamurti and Eight forms attributed by Kalidasa are referred in Shiv Purana in Shatrudra Samhita, p. 464, v. 3. The whole of Uttar Śiv Purana is devoted to Śiva-praise, may be that this is later addition.
Recently about 86 K.M. from Nagpur in Umer Tehsil, in the Mandhal village excavations have revealed Śiva temples of fourth and fifth century A.D. The sculptures found there depict Śiva in various forms "including that described by Kalidasa in Abhijñana Shakuntalam. A few sculptures appear to belong to the Vaishnava sects" (Times of India, April 25, 1976).

75 Raghu. II, 35; Kum. V. 79 (Vashav-murti) Śiv Purana, though propagates Shaivism it like Hinduism preaches Dhyanayoga as well e.g. Nāsti Dhyanam Bina Jnanam (Śiva Puraṇa vide Shiv Dhyana yoga 1-67, verses), pp. 946, 948, 986 ff.

76 Vayu Purana, Sec. 59 vv. 154-203.
Udaigiri Shaiva inscription (of Chandra Gupta second's minister Virasena).

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(Wheel of light) etc.[77] Kalidasa also mentions the worship of the fiery aspect of Shiva. He refers to the Mahākāla temple at Ujjayini in his Meghdutta.[78] The poet has not listed out the rites which would satisfy Mahākāla, but Bana in his Harshacharitam mentions a rite called 'Mahakalahṛdaya', which satisfied the fiery form of Shiva. Such a rite implied probably human sacrifice. Yuan-Chwang narrates the cult of human sacrifice in Northern India.[79]

Matsya Purana places Śiva in a higher position than Brahma and Vishnu. Brahma and Vishnu as representatives of gods and demons invoked Śiva for help when poison sprouted during the great Ocean-Churning. Śiva is ascribed all valour and supernatural powers. He is the lord of what is unmanifested as well as manifested, the destructer of Kamadeva and enemies of Devas, the incarnation of Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra, has Triśula, tresses and characters of Rathi, Yati and Brahmchari.[80] He drank the poison which turned Vishnu to Krishna and his neck is therefore permanently of black colour.[81] He removed the Devas' fear of poison, which haul threatened to engulf them, and is known as Hari.[82] Śiva possessed 'Mritya Sanjivini Vidya' which was unknown to Rishis, Nagas, Brahma, Indra and Viṣṇu.[83] Kalidasa invokes Śiva (Brahma-Vishnu-Śiva) in the beginning of his works and

77 Vayu Purana Sec. 59, 175, 198.
नमस्ते त्रिषु लोकेषु स्वारेन्तेषु भवदिषु ।
सत्यन्तेषु महान्तेषु चतर्थ च नमऽस्तुते ॥ (v. 193)
Nilmata Purana VV. 1885, I. 92 (Tripur-Destructor).
Vayu Purana mentions Gupta Royal dynasties and hence it must have been written after or in 4th Century A.D.) Dr. R.C. Majumdar vide Cl. Age, p. 298.
Nilmata Purana, narrates the legend of Ganga brought down at the request of Bhagiratha at Śiva's head.

78 Megh., I, 34.

79 Yuan-Ch. Watters I, p. 360. The pilgrim writes about this sacrifice to the cruel deity Durga. Shiva Purana Uttar-Bhaga deals with Shiva-praises and worship. It refers to Beejakshar Mantra, 'भ्रंस्तु वु श्रु क्रमेणैंब पुंड्र दामित्यत् परम···'' by which Shiva is to be propitiated (Shiv Purana, p. 979). Bana's Harshacharitam.

80 Matsya Puraṇa, Sec. 113, 28-40.

81 Matsya Puraṇa, Sec. 113, v. 46, 56, 57-61.
Śiva as incarnation of Viṣṇu and Krishna. Nilmata vv. 1141, 1216; Kamdev destructor; Demon destructor, VV. 1085, 1092.

82 Matsya Puraṇa, Sec. 113.

83 Matsya Puraṇa, Sec. 112, 49.

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names him Triloknatha,[84] and every image of the universe.[85] He prevades water and is the cause of creation,[86] preservation and destruction of inanimate and animate objects.[87]

*Paśupati Cult*

The Paśupati cult seems to be as old as the Mohenjodaro and Harappa civilization. One of the clay seals represents a three-faced god in the yoga attitude. He is also shown surrounded by four animals, a tiger, an elephant, a buffalo and a rhinoceros.[88] This is the representation of Mahayogi, Paśupati and Trimurti. These are the names of Śiva, the great ascetic lord of wild beasts and three-in-one. This seems to have been the prominent cult in C. 200 B.C.

The Śiva Purana also refers to Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva as one and the same god.[89] It gives a long description of Paśupati i.e. Paśu-Pati-Pash. Paśu, the lord of creation, Pati, the protector of Karma, Guṇa (गुण) and Tatva, and Pash, the lord of fetters by which He binds them all. In fact these are the three functions attributed to the three gods who are combined in One Tri-murti.[90] Kalidasa by honouring Trimurti, seems to lay stress on a compromise among the three cults. The Paśupati sect seems to have played an important role during the Gupta period. The poet refers to the cult indirectly by assigning the designations,[91] of Pasupati, Bhutanatha,[92] Bhuteswara,[93] Loknatha,[94] etc. to Śiva.

84 Kum. V. 77; Raghu I. (Parvati-Parmeshwera).
Mal. I (Loknatha).
85 Kum, v. 78.
86 Kum. II, 60.
87 Raghu II. 44.
88 I Plates XIII and XIV, p. 54. Marshall, Mohejandaro and Indus Civilization, i, p. 52.
89 Shiva Puraṇa, p. 900.
Nilmat Puraṇa, mentions Śiva as a member of triad of deities. VV. 175, 178, 179, 187 etc.
90 Shiva Puraṇa, p. 920.
Nilmatā refers Shiva's three forms capable of creating, protecting and destroying the world (VV. 1087-89).
91 Ku. VI. 9.
92 Raghu, II, 58.
93 Raghu, II, 46; Nilmata Puraṇa has glorified this aspect of Śiva worshipped as Rudra, vv. 1031-1124.
94 Māl. I. 1.

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The Mandasor Inscription (533-34 A.D.) refers to Shambu and Svayambhu and Pinākin worship. Yuan-Chwang also refers to Śiva-worship.[95]

*Mother Goddess or Shakti Cult*

The roots of worship of the mother goddess go back to the Mohenjadaro and Harappa civilization or even the pre-historic period. The evidence from Indus sites reveals Mother Goddess as a fertility deity who protected children also. Her benign aspect has also a malevolent aspect, which developed into the fiery aspect of Kali or Durga at a later stage.[96] Marshall opines that the Mohenjadaro and Harappa civilization is allied to the Sumerian civilization of about 3000 B.C. and is not Aryan in characteristics. "In Sumerian times, woman was the head of the family and female gods were predominant in their mythologies."[97] It is just possible that female gods were borrowed by India from Sumerians.

Goddesses have played very unimportant role during the Rigvedic times. The notable deity mentioned is Usha. The Aryan idea was simply of nature goddesses i.e. Usha (Dawn), and Prithvi (mother-earth). "But Dravidians had a conception of the forces of life and of Universe in the form of a great Mother Goddess and her male counterpart a father-god". This conception was more mystic and deeply philosophical than the Aryan Idea of material sky father, a material earth mother and Usha as dawn.[98]

In the pure vedic rites, these nature gods are supposed to dwelling in sky and they receive offerings through fire and Homa or Havan. Worship or Puja ritual with flowers is not known in Homa (Yajna), but the Dravidians form of worship was a puja ritual with flowers. The fusion of Aryans with Dravidians made Brahmanas and others adopt puja with flowers, water and milk. This synthesis took place by the time of Bhagvat Gita and Mahabharata:

95 Y. Ch. Watters, I, p. 296.
96 B.G. Gokhale, Samudra Gupta, p. 93.
97 Prof. Morgan, Ancient Society and Prof. Sayce, Babylonians and Assyrians, quoted by Dr. N.K. Dutt vide Aryanisation of India, pp. 59-60; Marshall, Mohenjadaro and Indus Civilisation Vedic Age, p. 179.
98 Vedic Age, p. 158.

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Patram Pushpam phalam toyam yo me
Bhaktya prayachchhati—
Tad/aham bhaktya-Upahritam
—Asnami prayatatmenah (Gita IX 26)

"The verse is great charter for the 'Puja ritual' within the milieu of Vedic Brahmanism.[99]

Brahma prayed to Śiva to give him the power needed for the creation of universe. Śiva propitiated by the prayer, Śiva, separated from his body Śakti, the energetic principle.[100] This was the beginning of the Śakti worship alongwith Śiva. This developed into Ardhanari-Nateswar worship.

Brahma, then prayed to Śakti to give him the power for creating the Nari-Kula (woman folk). He also begged to manifest herself in the form of a daughter in his son Daksha's house for the extension of the universe. The Devi agreed, appeared again after merging in the body of Śiva and was named Uma. Since that time according to Śiva Purana, woman has been a part of creation.[101]

By the time of Śiva Purana, the devotion to formless gods and godesses of Vedic times was transformed into formed worship. More gods and goddesses Śiva, Vishnu, Uma the consort of Śiva known as Parvati, Devi, Mahadevi, Bhavambika or mother of the universe etc. appeared.

The Aryan concept of Śakti is more allied to the creative side while the non-Aryan concept is more concerned with the destructive nature. There was synthesis of Aryan and non-Aryan concepts and Śakti became the embodiment of both. How ?[102]

Perhaps, following the identification of Rudra and Agni, Shakti was identified with the tongues of fire, attributed destructive aspects and given the names of Kali (destruction), Krali (the terrible), Bhima (the frightful), Chandi, Chandika or Chamunda. Speech is the source of strength in Brahmana literature, so she was attributed this power also and called as Vāk-devi and Sarasvati.[103] Sarasvati is the goddess

99 Vedic Age, pp. 160-1.
100 Shiva Purana, p. 467.
पृथक्चकार वपुषो भागदेवी शिवां शिवः (13) ।
101 *Ibid.*
शिवे नारीकुल स्रष्टं शक्ति देहि नमऽस्तु ते,
चराचर जगद्वृद्धि हेतोमति शिवप्रिये ।। (20)
102 The foundations of living faiths by H. Bhattacharya, p. 238.
103 Cl. Age, p. 439.

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of Supreme power and is known as Vedamata Sarvavarne and Chhandasamata, and Dakshina-murti etc. Śiva possessed 'Mahaśvari Vidya', which was not possessed by Indra or Viṣṇu according to Matsya Purana.[104] Perhaps, as Devi is a part of Śiva (Ardhnarisvara), the quality of revelation was not excluded from Her. This invested Devi with abstract qualities and virtues.

Devi is called Shri Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth perhaps because wealth is more important than any other item of need in materialistic life. According to Matsya Puraṇa, when ocean was churned by gods to extract nector, first of all appeared white som, then Som's ghee-like foam came up yellow Śri and then came up Suradevi.[105]

According to Sañkhya philosophy, the universe is created by Purusha (inactive nature) and Prakṛti (Active nature). The Upanishadic system of Advaita form claim creation by Brahma in association with Maya. Thus the idea of Devi Supreme, continued in the manifestation agency, and goddess was described as creater of gods, Durga (Killer of Asuras), Devi (revealer of Sakta literature), Yoganidra (sender of creation to sleep) and Mahalakshmi. She is called Śakti in later Tantric literature.[106]

Thus Śiva-Śakti cult came into existence, and the notable thing is that both Śiva and Śakti were worshipped in benign as well as terrible forms. Uma, Gauri, Parvati, Bhavani, Annapurna, Lalita and Kamla are gentle forms of the goddess while the fierce forms included Kali, Ratri Katyayani and Bhairvi. These forms are analogous to Śiva's

104 Matsya Puraṇa, Sec. 112, 8-9.

105 Matsya Puraṇa, Sec. 113, 2-3.

प्रसन्नाभः समुत्पंन्नः सोमः शितांशुरुज्जवलः (2)

श्री खतरमुत्पन्ना घृतपाण्डुरवासिनी, सुरादेवी समुत्पन्ना तुरगः पाण्डुस्तथा (3)

Sri is born from sea and is capable of purifying three worlds. Nilmata vv. 273; 644, 843, 230, 238, 270-77, 281.

Laxmi and Sri at one time were different goddesses, but merged in each other in Upanishads. (M. bh. III 37,33). Hopking, Epic Mythology, p. 224.

106 Vayu Puraṇa, Maha Laxmi.

Markandey Puraṇa, Sec. 77-83 Durga, the destroyer of demons Mahishasura, Raktabija, Sumba and Nishumbha Chanda and Munda. The whole section of Devi Mahatmya describes the ferocious activities of Durga (Ugraform of Śakti). *Ibid.* Sec. 77, Durga, Devi Simh-Vahini, Chandaka, Śakti (V. 3), Kalidevi (V. 31), Varah-Shakti (V. 35), etc.

Shakti or Active female is manifested in the form of Shivas' consort; Woodruff, Shakti and Shakta, p. 9.

Sec. 77 lavishes all fiery and soothing epithets to Śiva.

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Ghora (terrifying) and Aghora (gentle) forms. Śiva with destructive powers is named Rudra in Rigveda and its more developed form is given in Vajsenyi Samhita.[107] Kalidasa also identified Śiva with Rudra. (Raghu II 54 ; Ku II 26). Of all the forms, Parvati and Dugra outgrew in gentle and terrifying characters. Images of the Goddess in her various aspects have been unearthed in various parts of India. A few figures discovered at Bhita depict Devi with four arms engaged in fighting with demon in the shape of a buffalo. The arms also multiplied and Udayagiri carving depict her with twelve arms.[108]

Śiva's consort was Maha Devi or Parvati or Uma. Vishnu and Mahesh were given consorts corresponding to their virtues. Thus the idea of consorts to gods gave rise to 'Divine mothers' as manifestations of Devi. Though mythologically they are connected with Śiva, they had associations with other gods: Lakshmi and Sarasvati are regarded as consorts of Vishnu. Thus we find Śaktism was the favourite cult of the people. In this cult, Śakti is regarded superior to Śiva.[109] The worship of Śakti according to Tantrism was accompanied with sacrifices of animals and human beings. It stresses on the distinctive power of sounds and the presence of minute channels or threads of occult force called Nada and Chakra.[110] Yuan-Chwang in 7th century A.D. also refers to this cult with awe as only chance saved him from being sacrified to Durga Devi.[111]

107 Cl. Age, p. 441.
Kane Upanishad mentions goddess Uma's name for the first time (Kane Upanishad III, 12). Nilmata Purana gives her, higher position than Śiva. Nilmata, V. 303; Rigveda's three hymns are assigned to Rudra.
Vajsenyi Samhita Ch. 16 Rudra v. 7 नीलग्रीव, v. 29 कपिदर्न, v. 18 भव ।

108 Udaigiri cave Inscription is dedicated to twelve armed goddess, Lakshmi (401-2 A.D.) and belongs to Chandra Gupta II. Here Viṣṇu is also having four arms and is attended by two wives. Bhita-figurines correspond to the description of Chandi in Durga-Saptasati of Markandey Purana 83, 87, Cl. Age, p. 443.
Nilmata Purana strongly mentions to the worship of books in the temples of Durga, which is generally done in Sarasvati temple.
दुर्गा ग्रहे पुस्तकानां पूजा कार्या तथाद्विज । Nilmata V. 7?9.

109 Shakti and Shakta, Woodruff, p. 9. As mentioned previously Tantarism had its roots in Atharvaveda. Fa-hein in 4th Century A.D. noticed it (Fa-hein, Legge., p. 46).

110 Shiv Purana, p. 971 ff. Full description how and of what substances these Mandlas are to be made is given along with Beejaksar Mantra for propitiating Shiva-Parvati. C.H.I., Vol. II, p. 28.

111 Yuan-Ch. Watters I, p. 360.

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Vishva Varman, a feudatory of Kumara Gupta I, constructed a temple for the worship of divine Mothers (matras) : "A terrible abode filled full of Dakins or ghosts who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy and stir up the very oceans with the mighty winds rising from the performance of Tantrika rites."[112] Along with the image of seven mothers, the temple bears the image of Śakti as Mahishmardini. The Bihar Stone Pillar refers to a group of temples constructed in dedication to the Divine Mothers including the goddess Bhadrakaya who may be taken for Parvati.[113] By the end of the 6th century A.D., Tantrism began to corrupt both Hinduism and Buddhism with female energies, the spouses of the Hindu god Śiva.

Other inscriptions of the Gupta period mention several goddesses e.g. Devaki (No. 13), Jahnavi (No. 38, 39), Jambhavi (No. 67), Lakshmi (No. 14 and 79), Vaishnavi (No. 40), Paulomi (No. 49), Sachi (No. 49) and Sarasvati (No. 42).[114] Kalidasa refers to the Matrah,[115] Śiva's consorts, as Uma, Parvati, Ambika, Bhavani, Gauri etc.[116] Kali is the counterpart of Maha-Kāl. Śiva wears a necklace of human sculls.[117]

The cult of Devi had deified rivers Ganga and Yamuna. Ganga is supposed to have generated from the toe of Vishnu and the head of Śiva. Kalidasa attaches great sanctity to the river and makes the goddesses *fly-whisk* (fan) the attendants of Śiva.[118] Ganga on Makara (Crocodile) and Yamuna on tortoise are represented invariably on temple doorways from the 2nd century A.D. onwards. Such examples have been recently discovered from Buxur in Bihar. They belong to the 5th century A.D.[119] and are kept in Indian Museums. The Amaravati carving depicts Ganga, carrying a 'purna-

112 Fleet, C.I.I., Insc. No. 17 line 35.

113 The Bihar inscription belongs to Skanda Gupta's time. Fleet, I.C.C., insc. No. 12, Part I, p. 49. (L. 9 Skanda-Pradhanairbhuvi matribhis-ch).
(Line 10 Yup-Ochchh aayam-iva chakkre (II) Bhadrayya-adi—)
History of Mongols, IV Part, p. 25; Waddell, p. 14.

114 Fleet, C.I.I.

115 Ku. VI, 38. Amarkoşa enumerates:
ब्राह्मी महेश्वरी चैव कौमारी वैष्णवी तथा ।
वराहीं च तथेद्राणी चामुण्डा सप्तमातर: ।।

116 Ku. I, 45, III, 58, 62 etc; I, 26 VI; VIII, 18, 78; I, 50, VII, 95.

117 Ku. VII, 39.

118 Ku. VII, 70, 42.
Ganga decending from Śiva's locks is shown in fig. 16 of 7th Century A.D.; Fig. 17 of 6th Century A.D. (Some aspects of Ind. Cul., pp. 24-25).

119 Aspects of Ind. Cul., p. 17, fig. 9 and 10.

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kumbha' or a vessel brimming with water, flanking the doorway belonging to 6th century A.D.[120]

Kalidasa makes several references to Lakshmi the consort of Vishnu.[121] Several sculptures pieces show the goddess messaging the feet of her lord, who is reclining under the head of Sesa, as described by Kalidasa.[122]

An endless number of Devis were deified by the time of Guptas. Puranas and temples made them popular. Temples were the places where not only worship but daily recitation from religious scriptures were held. This led first to the carving of beautiful images and idols, and then to the carving of temples to instal them. This resulted in great progress in the field of Art, Architecture and literature.

FOR FAVOUR OF REVIEW

120 Fig. 8. Aspect of Ind. Cul., p. 19.
121 Raghu VI 58, IX 16, IV 5.
122 Raghu X 8.

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# 5

# Education

Vedic and post-Vedic literature, Jain and Buddhist works are living testimony to the prevailing standard of knowledge in India. Dharamśastras condemn all illiterate Brahmanas. The Varnashrama Dharma rules provide a period (Brahmacharya aśrama) for intensive study. Rigveda and Manu mention explicitly the Upanayana (study initiation) ceremony.[1] Teaching was mainly the duty of Brahmanas but with the rise of Buddhism, Buddhists seem to have assumed a larger share in educating the people. The orthodox system was of studying under a suitable teacher individually and privately in his home or Ashrama. The higher classes looked upon literacy as an essential acquisition.

During the Gupta period, there was no appreciable deviation in the system of education that prevailed in the preceding age.

Kalidasa refers to the subjects of study as Vidyah.[2] Kautalya names Vidyah of four types. Anvikṣiki, Trayi, Varta and Dandaniti. Manu advocates Trayi, Varta and Dandaniti only. Acharya Brihaspati believes in Varta and Dandaniti, and Sukracharya says that there is only one Vidya, Dand Niti, and that all the other Vidyas are allied to it. But Kautalya believes in four Vedas saying that the aim of sound vidya is the knowledge of Dharma and Adharma.[3]

Anvikṣiki Vidya includes Sankhya (Logic), Yoga (system of philoso-

1 Mansumriti, II.36.
2 Raghu. I. 8; 23, 88; III. 30, V. 20, 21, X. 71, XVIII. 50; Śak., p. 125, V. 25; Vik., pp. 40, 128; Māl., p. 7.
3 Arthaśastra, Sec. I. Tr., p. 95.

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phy) and Lokayata (Atheism); Varta comprises of Naya and Apnaya (Agriculture trade, commerce etc.) and Dandaniti is statecraft of Sandhi and Vigrah with enemies etc.[4]

Trayi Vidya comprises of the three Vedas: Rigveda, Samveda and Yajurveda and their sections, sub-sections and appendages. This vidya binds all values in their respective stages of life.[5]

Kautalya and Kalidasa agree in their enumerations of the Vidyas.[6] Kautalya includes nearly all of Hindu philosophy in his Vidyas. Kalidasa refers to Varta[7] and Dandaniti[8] by name and alludes to Yoga,[9] Mimamasa[10] the six systems,[11] Smriti[12], Itihas[13], Ramayana[14] and Mahabharata[15], and Puranas.[16]

Varta was, as defined above, agriculture, trade and Commerce.[17] Dandaniti (Chastisement) was the art of Government administration. This Niti is to preserve what has been gained, to increase what has been preserved, and to utilise the gained and preserved resources[18] (by chastisement if needed). Raghuvamsa prescribes such a curriculum for the king.[19] As part of Dandaniti, the kings also learnt diplomacy and various statecrafts of deception.[20]

Strictly speaking education commenced (Vidyaramba) after Mundan Samskar (Keshanta)[21] when a student was taught counting

4 Sec. I, Arthaśastra, Tr., p. 65.
5 Sec. I. Artha., Tr., pp. 96-97. Fleet, CII, No. 39, "kāll-Trayi" three Vedas.
6 Raghu. III. 30.
Sec. I, Arthaśastra, Tr., p. 95.
7 Raghu. XVI. 2.
8 *Ibid.*, XV. III. 46.
9 Ku. III, 40, 47-50, I. 59; Raghu. VIII, 17, 22, 24 (योगसमाधि)
10 Raghu. I.
11 Raghu. XVIII, 33.
12 Raghu. II. 2.
13 *Ibid.*, I. 19.
14 Sak., p. 91, इतिहास सम्बन्धेषु ।
15 Raghu. XV. 33, 63, 64, I. 4.
16 Raghu. XI. 10; XVII. 23.
17 Pl. see Chapter 3 of this work.
18 Sec. I. Artha. Tr., p. 98.
19 Raghu. V, III. 21. XIII. 58.
20 *Ibid.*, V. 57, 59.
21 Arthaśastra, p. 170.
Manu prescribes Mundan Samskar at the age of one or three according to Srutis. Manu Sruti II, 35; Raghu. III. 29.

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(Samkhyā) and writing (Lipi) at the age of five.[22]

Next followed the ceremony of Upanayana. The Brahmana, kshatriyas and vaiṣya boys were initiated to this Samskar at the age of eight, eleven and twelve respectively.[23] This was the most important ceremony when a child was literally entrusted to a teacher or Guru on an auspicious day in a festive mood.[24]

The student lived in his teacher's house and served him by gathering kuça for his prayer seat and fuel for home. He started his daily routine with the sounding of 'Om' and the recitation of Vedic hymns with proper accent.[25]

He was taught to bow and touch the feet of the Guru and elders, offer oblation to sacred fire and master, different lores including reading and writing.[26]

This 'Samskar' (Yagnopvit) is described by Manu as spiritual birth (Brahma Janama) where mother is Savitri and father is Acharya. This was essential pre-marriage ceremony.[27] He laid much stress on the education of all the varṇas and advocates preference to a well-read Vaisya over an illiterate Brahmana.[28] But the gradual disappearance of Upanayana among kṣatriyas and Vaiṣyas indicates the decrease in literary taste among them, though they may not have been illiterate. Arthaśastra prescribes military training in fighting with elephants, horses and chariots cavalries as well as infantry for a kśatriya prince in the forenoon.[29] By the time of Guptas, kśatriyas must have devoted more attention to the learning of the art of warfare as wars had become common.

Kalidasa's Raghuvamṣa incorporates nearly all the Arts learnt by the various varṇas and by the kings.

Inscription No. 25 of the Gupta period refers to Vidya comprising knowledge of Vedas, Puraṇas, Mimaṁasa, Nyaya, and Dharma. In addition to this, inscriptions allude to Panini's grammar called Sala-

22 Manusmriti, II. 39. A child's education began at the age of six (Kadambri, p. 153).

23 Manusmriti, II. II, 65-68. यज्ञोपवीत. केशान्त ।

24 ABORI, XXXVI, p. 362.

25 Manusmriti, II. 75-86.
Sak III Kuca is brought by a pupil of Ritvij Brahmas.

26 Manusmriti, II. 105-128.

27 Uttara Ram Charita, Notes, p. 59.
Raghu. I. 61ff. Guru was called Acharya as well, Raghu. II. 40; Māl. II. ch.

28 Manusmriti, II. 136, 137.

29 Arthaśastra, Sec. II, p. 101.

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turiya (No. 39), to Mahabharata (No. 26, 27, 28 & 31) and to its Satsahasri Samhita. The popular characters of Mahabharata are also recorded in the inscriptions, Yudhisthira called Dharamaraja (No. 38 & 35), Sagar, who dug the bed of ocean, Bhagiratha (No. 17), Prithu, Raghava (No. 2), Partha (No. 18 & 20); Māndhats (No. 33), Manu, Bharats and Alerka, and Anu the son of Yayati.[30]

State Museum Library Lucknow (7177)

**Subjects Taught**

The course of study differed according to the need and taste of a student. Since the king was supposed to protect the society and give efficient administrations according to Manusmriti and Kautalya, he was given military training and taught the Vidya. This was the practice during the days of Guptas, and is so recorded by Kalidasa.

In addition to practical military training, a Kśatriya prince learnt, painting (alekhya), Astronomy (Jyotisa), dramaturgy (Natya), mathematics (ganita), knowledge of jewels, grammar (Vyakarṇa), Vedas, music (gandharva vidya), manufacture of scents (gandhyukti), Sankhya yoga, astrology (Varsaguna, hora), logic (Hetu Śastra), metrics (Chanda), etymology (nirukta), science of dreams and omens (Svapanaśastra & Śakunakajñana), knowledge of weapons, horses and elephants (ayudha-turga-hasti-lakṣana), various games, magic (Inderjala), alchemy (dhatu-vada).

Tantras, Ramayana, Mahabharata, working of various metals, archery (dhanurvidya), cooking and the smaller arts and sciences numbering seventy-two.[31]

Even after his marriage at the age of sixteen, the king was to cultivate the association of elders in knowledge as a means of increasing his own knowledge. Moreover Arthaśastra lays much stress on the efficiency of the teachers, who according to Kautalya should be Shistha and Vidvan Acharyas.[32] Chandra Gupta Maurya was lucky to have Chanakya as his guru of encyclopedic knowledge and received all the then available knowledge for nearly eight years at Taxila. He also seems to have, not only respected according to the Smritis but worshipped his Guru. The Mathura pillar inscription of Chandra Gupta's (II) time describes Gurvayatana, a custom of offering wor-

30 Fleet, C.I.I.

31 Kuvalayamalakatha, pp. 21-28. Quoted by Dr. B.N. Sharma vide, *Social & Cul. Hist. of N. India*, pp. 40-41 fn. 26; Fleet, C. II, No. 39.

32 Arthaśastra. Sec. III, pp. 100-1.

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ship to the images of teachers and founders of religion installed in shrines named as such.[33]

Brahmanas, whose main duty was to read and educate, to perform yajñas for themselves and for others, and to give and take charity, were the most learned people of the society. They were very well-versed in Vedas, Shiksha, Kalpa, grammar, Nirukta; metrics, jyotish, the six angas, various scripts and Mimaṁsa.[34] All the Puraṇas impose the responsibility on Brahmaṇas and lavish praise on them for performing the rites according to Dharmaśastras.[35]

According to epigraphic evidence, a Brahmana teacher was honoured by the title of Bhatta.[36] Teachers are mentioned in the inscriptions as Acharyas, Upadhyayas and the students as Śiṣyas. Upadhyaya was a sub-teacher well versed in a part of Veda, grammar and other Vedangas. Śiṣyas were also called Brahmacharis.[37]

Various sculptured pieces in Khajuraho, Bhuvaneshwar and other places depict a number of scenes of teachers imparting education to students by reciting from books, writing and discoursing. Sometimes students are shown standing paying obeisance to the Guru (Namaskar with a bowed head and joined hands).

Teachers of repute were honoured by the kings and were granted agrahas (lands), clothes and jewels.[38] Fa-hein refers to a Brahman teacher Raivata as the highest authority of Mahayana at Patliputra. The religious procession of images in four-wheeled and five storey cars is famous incident of Magadha, described by the traveller. Here Brahmanas came forward to invite Buddhists

33 Fleet, C. II, No. 29, inc. of 8th C. records this custom in line 45: Vanşdeva-dvija-gurun-pratipujay.

34 Arthaśastra, Sec. I, pp. 96-7.

35 Purana Parishilan.

36 Fleet, I.C.C. Inscriptions No. 12, 39, 81.

37 Fleet, C. II. Inscriptions Nos. 56, 61, 71, 22, 23, 39 & 60.

38 King Umavarman of Kalinga was, particular that the number of Agraharas was never less than 36; E.I. XII. 56; Kalhana Rajat. VII 934, VIII 2395-97 tell that king Yaśkara of Kashmir provided 55 Agraharas with all possible facilities. Agraharas, are villages denoted by kings to the Brahmanas where they lived, which became famous centres of learning. Barhut (pl. 7) depicts a scene of Rishi instructing his pupils. Pl. II, depicts a teacher addressing an Assembly (The way of Buddha).

At Ujjain (the Kśetra of Mahākala) as mentioned by Kalidasa also as a wealthy splendours city, students flocked from distances to study. (Aspects of Ind. Cul., p. 2).

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to enter the city.[39] Puranas[40] mention Brahmanas as very learned and call them Dvijas, while inscriptions[41] of the period name Brahmanas acquainted with four Vedas as Chaturvedin, with one—Veda, as Samvedin etc. Vayu Purana[42] says Mahadevi took the form of Rudrani for their welfare. Moreover, Puranas give more importance to 'Brahmabal' or the Brahmanas' power of philosophical knowledge than to the physical prowess of Kśatriyas.[43]

Yuan-Chwang lavishes great praise on Brahmanas, their high standard and zeal for knowledge.[44]

**Centres of Learning**

The houses of learned teachers, the Ashramas of great scholary, philosophical and spiritual Rishis, and Buddhist monasteries were the centres of learning during the early Gupta period.

All the learning seems to have been imparted orally, to the students, and the subjects of study were not written down. Fa-hein records how in the various kingdoms he visited in Northern India the words of preachers had to be 'heard, pondered over and contemplated', by pupils. Sacred works in search of which the Chinese pilgrim had come, were handed by one teacher to another orally. It was only in one Mahayana monastery at Patliputra (Patna) that he was able to find a copy of the Mahasanghika rules observed in the Great Council when Buddha was alive. The original copy of this was transferred to Jetvana Vihara. He was able to get Samyukt bhidharma-hridya-(Śastra) containing six or seven thousand gāthas of Sarvastivada rules. He also got sutra of 2500 gāthas, one chapter of Parinirvana-Vaipulya Sutra of about 5000 gāthas and Mahasanghika Abhidharma. Fa-hein stayed here for three years, learnt Sanskrit and made transcriptions of the manuscripts.[45]

39 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 77-79.
40 Markandey Purana, p. 21. v. 7; p. 25 (Dvija.). Vayu Purana, p. 236.
41 Fleet C.I.I. No. 16, 39, 55, p. 136.
42 Vayu Purana, XXIII; II, p. 236. महादेवो रुद्राणी त्वं भविष्यसि ब्रह्मणानं हितार्थाय परमार्थे भविष्यसि ।
43 Purana-Parishilan, p. 173.
धिक् बलं क्षत्रिय बलं ब्रह्मतेजो बलं बलम् । एकेन ब्रह्मदण्डेन सर्वास्त्राणि हतानि में ।।
44 Record, pp. 117-20.
45 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 98-9.

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**Language**

Fa-hein's record, inscriptions and literature all are testimony to the fact that the language of the cultured classes was Sanskrit while the lower classes spoke Prakrit. Harisena's Allahabad Prashasti and all other Inscriptions are written in Sanskrit. Kalidasa's works say kings and Acharyas spoke Sanskrit while the Vidushka, Chetis and even Malvika spoke Prakrit. Priests, king's Royal minister and Chamberlains addressed women in Sanskrit, indicating that they could understand the language. In Kumarasambhava, Sarasvati blessed Śiva in Sanskrit and Parvati in Prakrit. It seems Kalidasa made his womenfolk speak Prakrit merely to keep up the literary tradition. Sarasvati, though a woman had higher status and so spoke in pure Sanskrit. Harisena in his Praśasti, line 27, bestows the title of 'Kaviraj' upon Samudra Gupta and describes him as the author of many works of poetry and Kavya.[46] According to the fifth line of the Praśasti he was not only very learned himself and had deep knowledge of Shas ras and a great writer but mixed up with the learned people and supported the real truth of scriptures.[47]

The popularity of the Sanskrit language seems to have been due to the state-patronage, the kings own tastes for it and the Upanayana Samskar for Brahmanas, kśatriyas and Vaishyas. Female Education seems to have suffered a great setback owing to the disappearance of Upanayana among girls and the lowering of marriageable age. Kalidasa[48] remarks that Sanskrit was the language

46 A.I. Text 27 : vividhvijjan öpajivy.
aneka-kavya-kkriyabhih prtishthitha-kaviraja
—śabdasya Suchira-stotavya-ānék—
abdhut-odaracharitasya.

47 A. Inscription line 5:
Yasya prjñ-anushaṅg-ochita-sukha-manasali
Sāstra tattv-artha-bharttuh (.....)
Stabdh-o (.....) ni (.....) n. Ochchri...
(Sa) t. Kavya-śri-virodhān-budha-gunita
-gun-ajnahatan—eva—kavita. Kirthi-
lokevi (————) sphuta——bahu kavita kriti
rajyam bhunakti (II+) 3.

48 Raghu. V. I., III 30.
In 20th Century English is the language of upper class gentry. It is understood by women, but is not spoken by all of them. Similar seems to be the status of Sanskrit during Gupta period. The kings spoke Sanskrit, which must have been understood by queens, who always spoke Prakrit, according to Kalidasa.

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of the Brahmanas and upper classes and that women spoke Prakrit. Education of high standard was confined to the former circle only.

**Monasteries**

The fame of Taxila the well-known centre of Education was on the decline.[49] When Fa-hein visited India he found Hinayana and Mahayana monasteries in the country. He did not find any special educational activities in them. At Kanyakubja he found two monasteries where students of Hinayana lived. The subjects of discourse were the same as handed down from Buddha's time e.g. "The bitterness and vanity of life as permanent and uncertain, and that the body is a bubble or foam on the water."[50] He visited various monasteries, topes and viharas,[51] but found written copies of Vinaya, extracts from Abhidharma and two sutras only from Patliputra's Mahayana Monastery.[52] The pilgrim records that "there were no libraries and the teachers were the walking libraries and custodians of the national heritage of study and learning."[53] The pilgrim has referred to Sratparṇa cave, where 500 Arhats had collected the Sutras after Buddha's Nirvaṇa.[54]

At the time of Fa-hein's visit in the 4th century A.D. there was no monastery of importance with educational activity, but by the end of fifth century Nalanda and Vallabhi became the famous as centres of learning. These monasteries turned into Universities due to the patronage of Gupta Emperors who bestowed rich endowments and enabled them to offer free tuition, boarding and lodging to a large number of students.[55] Other Buddhist monasteries began to develop into centres of learning during the later half of the Gupta period. They were monastic colleges, Patliputra, Vallabhi, Ujjayin,

49 Ev. of Ind. Cul., p. 275.
50 Fa-hein, Legge., p. 53.
51 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 42, 44, 59, 89, 87, 96.
52 *Ibid.*, p. 98.
53 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 98-99.
Fa-hein Giles., p. 64.
54 Fa-hein, Legge., p. 85.
55 Vak. Gup. Age, p. 398.
Nalanda University in Magadha, please see Appendix B.
Vallabhi in Kathiawar (W. India) had become a very important centre of learning by 5th century A.D. It was the house of Sammittiya and Vijñavada schools (A.K. Warder, Indian Buddhism, p. 464).

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Padamavati Vatsagulam (Basin), Pravarapura, Mathura, Ayodhya, Benaras, Nasik and Karachi were well-known centres of both Hindu and Buddhist learning.[56] Yuan-Chwang in Seventh century records monasteries as notable centres of learning[57] in Kashmir. Kalhana also writes about Mathas as centres of learning and residences of students.[58]

**Agraharas**

Brahmanas were the celebrated scholars of Gupta period as stated earlier. From the 4th to 7th century A.D., Gupta kings donated land for Agraharas on scholarly Brahmanas. This indirectly encouraged learning and Agraharas became centres of learning. Nalanda was one such Agraharas.[59] Fa-hein records that the kings and the heads of Vaiṣya guilds "built Viharas for the priests, endowed them with fields, houses, gardens and orchards along with the resident population and their cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metal without anyone daring to annul them."[60]

**Subject of Study**

Reference has already been made to subjects of study. During the Gupta period all the fourteen or eighteen branches of learning including Vedas, six Vedangas, Puranas, Nyaya, Mimamsa, Dharamshastra, Dhanurvidya, Gandharva vidya and Arthaśastra were known to learned Brahmanas,[61] along with Grammar.[62] Inscription No. 18

56 Ev. of Ind. Cul., p. 275.
B.N. Lunia, Bhartiya Sabhyata Thatha Sanskriti ka vikas, p. 208.

57 Watters, Yuan-Ch. I, pp. 69, 70, 77, 84, 127, 137.

58 Rajat. VI. 87-88, V. 29.

59 Saletore, pp. 544-47.

60 Fa-hein, Legge., p. 43. This account pertains to middle country Mathura Agraharas were bestowed upon Brahmanas and not upon Kśatriyas & Vaiśyas. Karle Cave Inscription No. 13 records the donation of 16 villages to Brahmanas alongwith three-hundred-thousand cows and gifts of gold. They fed ascetics of Vaiuraka caves without caste and creed distinctions, during rainy seasons (E.I. VII. Part I, Jan. 1902, p. 58).

61 Raghu. V. 21, p. 181. (Mallinatha quotes Manu in explanation अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारः मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः । पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रश्च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश
Fleet, Inscription No. 25.

62 Please refer to ft. n. 36 & 37 of this ch.

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records that even the guild of silk weavers showed a great aptitude for general cultural subjects along with technical training in the military science.[63] Yuan-Chwang in his account refers to the teaching of five sciences, grammar, Mechanical arts, astrology, medicine and the 'Science of Eternal' dealing with five vehicles and the doctrines of Karma.[64] The Nalanda University imparted education not only in the Eighteen Sects of Buddhism but taught Vedas, Hetuvidya (logic), Śabadvidya (grammar), the Chikatsavidya (medicine), Atharvavidya and Sankhya.[65] This University had one hundred teachers, teaching as many diverse subjects.[66]

Music, drama, painting and dancing were also the important subjects taught. Lalitakalas are alluded to by Kalidasa[67] alongwith Sangitshalas. Drama with music and acting was very popular in the age and all the dramas of Kalidasa were written to celebrate Vasantaotsava.[68] Singing was done with the accompaniment of musical instruments. Meghaduta refers to wall paintings and Malvikaginimitra tells us about Chitraśala, where painting was taught by the Chitralekhacharya.[69]

Some of the Gupta kings were themselves musicians. The notable among them is Samudra Gupta who issued 'Lyrist coins' depicting the king playing upon Veena. We have discovered nearly nineteen such coins. The Allahabad pillar inscription's 27 line also says that the king 'could excel even Narada and Tumbaru in his musical accomplishments."[70]

Kalidasa's references to Chitrashala and Sangitashala allude to the existence of Gurukuls. Such schools were started by different

63 Fleet C.I.I., Inscription No. 18.
64 Watters, Yuan-Ch., pp. 154-55.
65 Beal, Si-yu-ki, p. 112.
66 Watters, Yuan-Ch., p. 165.
Appendix B.
67 Mal. II. 13; Mal., p. 14.
Megh., v. 62.
Please see Ch. 2 of this work as well.
68 Mal. II, pp. 55, 62; I, p. 5.
Please see Ch. 2 as well.
69 U. Megh. v. 6.
Mal., p. II, चित्र, चित्रलेखाचार्य, चित्रशाला ।
70 Text 27:
Niśita...vidagdha...mati...gandharvva—lal itair.....vridita—tridaśapatiguru—tamburu...Naradāder...
vividvaj—jan.....

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kings or guilds. Epigraphic record reveals that one donor gave land for the maintenance of a grammar hall at Tiruvorraiyur called 'Viyakarana-dana vyakhyan mandapa' and another record tells about the establishment of a school to study Vedas, Śastras, grammar, Rupāvatarāde (etc.) in a certain Jananathamandapa by a royal grant of Virat Rajendra (A.D. 1062).[71]

71 Mukerji, Local Govt. in Anc. India, p. 274.
Gurukul Kangri & Jaipur Vidyapith may have some such beginning.

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# 6

# Literature

The political unity, economic prosperity, intellectual renaissance and staunch patronage of the Gupta emperors produced great literary figures: playwrighters, composers, chroniclers, grammarians, philosophers, scientists. Sanskrit literature flourished and the great Hindu, Jain and Buddhist writers adopted it in preference to Pali and Prakrit.[1]

The Gupta period witnessed the re-birth of the Puranas and probably the shaping of the Epics, into the present form. It saw also great authors in such sciences as Astronomy and Mathematics. And Secular literature reached great heights.

Some of the Gupta kings were men of letters. According to the Allahabad praśasti, Samudra Gupta had, acquired knowledge in various fields (vividhyijjan opajivya), visualised the essential factors of controversies (vaidusham ttatva-bhedi prashna) and was gifted with the intellect of a poet (Kavi-mati-Vibhav). He could understand difficult philosophy and philosophers (Dusham dhyan-patram). He knew the inner meaning of Śastras (Śastra-ttava-Artha-). He wrote many works of poetry (Aneka-kavya-kkriyabbih) and acquired great respect amongst writers who called him Kaviraja or the great poet (pratishnita-Kaviraja-sabdasya-suchira-stotavya-anek-abdhut odārcharitasya).

But none of Samudra Gupta's works is available; perhaps none has survived.

1 Sanskrit language had developed so much that the Gupta Kings adopted the same in their harem. Kavyamimamsa, p. 50. Please see Ch. 5 also.

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The court of Chandra Gupta II had nine great literary figures called 'Nav Ratna' or nine gems.[2] Dhanvantrih kṣapṇako Amarsima Vetalbhatta Ghattakarpara Kalidasah, Khyāto Varahmihiro mṛatch Subhyam. Ratnani vai vararucír nava--Vikramasya

Of these the dates of Kṣapṇaka the lexicographer and Vararuci are unknown, while Dhanvantari the author of a medical glossary is older than Amarsimha who has quoted Kalidasa's Varahmihira lived in the 6th Century A.D. and Kalidasa was the court poet of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya.[2] Chandra Gupta's love for poets is further corroborated by the fact that his external affairs minister Virsena Kautsa Cāba was a man interested in poetry.

Not only poetry but drama was also patronised by Chandra Gupta, who was himself a drama writer (Rupakartin). This epithet makes him the predecessor of King Harṣa as a dramatist.[3]

**Writers of the Age**

(1) *Inscriptions*

All the inscriptions of the Gupta period are written in Sanskrit. Two inscriptions are famous for giving insight into the poetry of the period: (a) The Allahabad Pillar Inscription and (b) The Mandasor Inscription.

*The Allahabad Inscription* was composed by Harisena, who in his own words was the "war and peace minister" of Samudra Gupta.[4] This praśasti was perhaps written in 345 A.D., and the Mandasor inscription was written in 473-74 A.D.[5] Both the inscriptions, in the opinion of A.B. Keith are sufficient to "prove abundantly the existence of a developed Kavya poetry during the

2 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 76.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 76-76.
4 Inscription, L. 31.
Sanskrit language was employed in their official inscriptions by Śunga kings. In 151 A.D. king Rudradaman repeated the custom. But the germs of Kavya sty e evinced in Champa (Cambodia) inscriptions can be traced to Vakataka period. Samudra Gupta patronised it and the style developed with the help of great poets and writers of the age (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 206).
5 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 77.

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whole period of Gupta power, though Harisena is credited with the composition of the Mahrauli Inscription of Delhi as well".[6]

Harisena lays more stress upon language than on events. He writes partly in verse and partly in prose. The structure of his inscription resembles the styles of Bana and Subandhu, who put all the relative clauses and adjectives into a single long sentence. "This whole is one sentence, including first eight stanzas of poetry, then a long prose sentence and then finally a concluding stanza".[7] The inscription itself is in very simple and polished Sanskrit and is in the Champu Kavya style. The figures of speech and the choice of words are both judicious and beautiful. The author seems to have mastery over Vaidharbhi and Gauḍi styles.

In the seven preserved verses, the metre is no less elaborate than thought. There are four metres, Sragdhara, Cardulavikriḍita, Mandakranta and Prithvi. The poet has used figures of sound alliteration sparingly, metaphors in the figures of sense, similies and "double entendres' rarely, e.g. Samudra Gupta's sobriquet: 'Sadhvasādhudayapralayahetupurṣāsyā-cintyasya', "A hero unfathomable, the cause of the elevation of the good and the destruction of the bad and thus a counterpart of the Unfathomable Absolute, which is the cause of the creation and destruction of the world, and in which the good and the bad have their being."[8] The poet has shown his mastery over the language by putting small words in compounds to give maximum of metrical effect. His pen picture of Samudra Gupta's selection as his father's successor from among the aspiring candidates depicts indeed the skill of the writer.[9]

āryo hity=upguhya bhavapisunair=utkarṇṇitai
romabhih sabhyēsh=uchchhuvasitéshu tulyākulja
mlānāan-ōdvikshi (ta) h.
Sn(e)ha-Vyālulitena bāshpaguruṇa tattva-ekshina chakshusha
yak pitr ābhihito ni[r] ksh[y]a=nikhilam pahy=evajm urvim=iti

6 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 77.
R.K. Mukerji, the Gup. Emp., p. 138.
Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 407.
7 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 77.
8 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 78.
9 A. Insc. Line 7.
A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 78.
Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup, Age, p. 407.

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*Vattsabhatta*, writer of the famous Sun temple's Mandasor Inscription, was a humble local poet. He seems to have been a professional writer of the guild of silk-weavers of a provincial town. His work uses the word 'Purva' telling us that the Kavya style existed in his time, and 'yatnena' telling us that he also observed the laws of poetics and wrote it with effort. The work comprises of forty-four stanzas. It describes Lata and the town of Dacapura and the seasons of winter and spring. Though he has used twelve metres in versification, he has not been able to make much of an impression. His style is Gauḍi and fits long compound words in one stanza with altering sentiments and sounds. Soft harmonious sounds have been used while describing the gentleness of the hero and discarded while proclaiming him as destructor of foes. 'Dvitdṛptapakṣakṣanaikadakṣah'—peerless in destroying the proud host of the foes'. He has abundantly used alliterations, similies and metaphors as demanded in a Kavya. His work is disfigured by the use of needless prefixes, affixes and particles as in 'tatastu'. But his panegyric is an invaluable testimony to the widespread cultivation of poetry.[10]

Verse ten repeats the comparison contained in verse 65 of Meghduta, with some points added in a forced way. The remaining points of Kalidasa's verse are in verse eleven of the praśasti. Prof. Keilhorn reads verse 51 of the Praśasti otherwise, and shows that it agrees with Ritusaṁhar V. 2-3, in both words and thoughts and adds only two new points.[11] These facts make the conjecture probable that Vattsabhatta knew Kalidasa's works and made use of them.

The Eran Stone Inscription of Samudra Gupta is written in beautiful Sanskrit prose style. The Sanchi Stone Inscription[12] and the Mathura Stone Inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II,[13] the Junagarh

10 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 79; M. Krishnam. H.C.S L., pp. 95-7.

11 M. Krishnam., H.C.S.L., pp. 95-7.
The Mandasor inscription of the Malwa year 529 (=472 A.D.) and Kalidasa's Ritusaṁhar. Gottingen. 1890, p. 251 ff. quoted by M. Krishnamchariar vide H.C.S.L., ft. n. 1, p. 97.
Vattsabhatta's Mandsor inscription is in 44 lines. Buhlar dates it 473-4 A.D. It is a praśasti of Kumar Gupta and his vassels Viśvavarman and Bandhuvarman.

12 Fleet, I.C.C., No. 2.

13 Fleet, I.C.C., Nos. 5 & 4.

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Rock Inscription and the Bhitri stone inscription of Skanda Gupta[14], are all written in Sanskrit. Skanda Gupta's Bhitri stone inscription is partly in prose and partly in verse. His Junagarh rock inscription gives beautiful poetical expressions in describing the condition of India during the days of Skanda Gupta before and after the wars with Hunas, the bursting of Sudarshana lake and in the end heaps great honour upon the king.

Line 24: Dript-ari-darpa pranudah prithu-śriyah
Sva-Vansa-ketoh Sakal-awani-patch
Rajadhirajy-adbhuta-punya-karmanah
(————————) (————————) dvipasya Gupta
mahatam cha neta denada dvinam.

**Pre-Kalidasa Authors of the Age**

Kalidasa mentions Bhasa, Saumilla and Kaviputra as renowned drama writers.[15] Chandra Gupta died in 330 A.D. and was succeeded by Samudra Gupta, who ruled for 40 years upto 370 A.D.[16] Bhasa is supposed to have lived in 350 A.D.[17] Bhasa and his dramas have been praised by Kalidasa (4th century A.D.); Bana (beginning of seventh century A.D.) and Raj Shekhar (10th century A.D.).[18] Svapna

14 Fleet, I.C.C. Nos. 13 and 14.
Alina copper plate Inscription (No. 39) 766-67 A.D. refers to Panini and Manu. The whole inscription is a beautiful example of play on words resting on the ordinary grammatical meaning of Sandhi Vigrah and other terms employed. The language is effected by the employment of Guna, Vriddhi and changes of vowels (Fleet, C.I.I., p. 183).

15 Māl., p. 6. भाससौमिल्लक कविपुत्रादिना: ।

16 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 150-1.
Samudra Gupta (C. A.D. 335-380 A.D.), R.K. Mukerji, Gupta Empire, p. 17; R.K. Mukerji, Gupta Empire, p. 13 (Chandra Gupta I, C. A.D. 319-335).

17 Dr. A.S. Altekar, places Bhasa in C. 300 A.D.
Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., p. 290, places Bhasa in early 4th Century. Vak. Gup. Age, p. 403.

18 Māl., p. 6. सूत्रधार कृतरम्भैर्नाटकैर्वे बहुभूमिकै: ।
सफलकैर्यशो लेभे भासो देव कुलै रिव ।। (Harshcharitam)
भास नाटक चक्रेऽपिच्छे कै: क्षिप्ते परिक्षितुम ।
स्वप्नवासवदत्तस्य दाहकोऽभून्न पावक: ।। (Rajshekhar)

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Vasavadatta is known as the most important play by Bhasa.[19] Thirteen plays have been assigned to him by Shri Ganpati Shastri. These thirteen plays are Madhyamavyāyoga, Dūta-Ghatotkacha, Karnabhara, Pancharātra, Balcharita, Pratima, Abhishéka, Avimāraka, Pratijña-Yaugandharāyana, Urūbhanga, Dūtavākya, Svapna Vāsavadātā and Charūdatta.[20] All the works are based on epics and tales.

Madhyamavyāyoga is based upon the tale of love of the demon Hidimba for Bhima, their ultimate marriage and its fruit.[21] It tells the story somewhat differently from Mahabhārata It is classed as Vyāyoga[22] and is a boisterous comedy in which Ghatotkacha spoils for a fight with Bhima not knowing that he is really his father.

*Dutaghatotkacha*: After the death of Abhimanyu, Ghatotkacha takes the message of Krishna to the Kaurvas. He goes straight to Dhritaraṣtra and apprises him of the fierce consequences of the war. Hot words are exchanged between Duryodhana and Ghatotkacha, and ultimately the latter returns predicting their punishment at the hands of Arjuna. There is no Bharata Vakya in the end.[23]

*Karnabhara*: Karṇa was appointed leader of the war by Kaurvas after the demise of Droṇacharya. He proceeded towards the war-field to fight with Aurjuna and narrates Calya, the Madra king who was his charioteer, 'the story of the trick he had employed for procuring his armour from Parshurama and the curse that had befallen him. Indra comes now in the guise of a Brahmana and obtains Karna's weapons and ear-rings. Thus the curse that he would be deprived

19 Abhinav Gupta vide Abhinav Bharti.
क्वचित् क्रीड़ा तथा वासवदत्तायाम् ।

20 T. Ganpati Shastri Svapan Vasavdattan, Intro., pp. 1, II.
All the MSS were written on palm leaves in Malayalam characters.
Dr. A.S. Altekar, the Vak. Gup., p. 403.
Sanskrit Sahitya Ka Itihas, pp. 490-91.
A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 95.
Svapanvasavdatta, preface (Pt. Anant Ram Shastri), p. 4.
H.W. Wells, C.D.I., p. 22, Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., pp. 289-90.

21 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., pp. 95-6.
Love and devotion has been the inspiring sources of Hindu writers. (Kamakalpa, p. 6).
Sringara Rasa is the Pradhana Rasa.

22 Pt. K.N. Shastri, Svapan Vasavdatta, preface, p. 6.
Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., p. 295.

23 Svapanvasavdatta, preface, p. 7.
A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 96.

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of them in the time of need is fulfilled. Karṇa, getting a Shakti named Vimla in exchange for his armour, goes out to battle.[24]

This work is based on Mahabharata, but makes changes in the episode.

In this great play, "Karṇa is depicted as the hero, following strictly in the steps of Bhagvad Gita, walking serenly to his doom. Death impends but with it neither tragedy nor transfiguration, neither calamity nor apotheosis". The emphasis is on composure.[25]

*Urubhanga*: It is a story of the fight between Bhima and Duryodhana the greatest of the Kaurvas. It ends with the breaking of Duryodhana's thigh ('Uru') and hence the name. Aṣvathama swears vengeance for his father upon Pandvas and appointing Durjay (Duryodhana's son) as the successor to the throne. Dhritarashtra goes to forest in desperation and Aṣvathama goes to attack Pandvas at night[26] and Duryodhana dies.

Urubhanga is one of the most remarkable plays in the Indian tradition. The greatest originality of the author is that he has given in this play a genuine tragedy, the only tragedy in the Indian tradition.[27]

All these four are one act plays.[28]

*Pancaratra* comprises of three acts and is classed as Samavakāra. This drama has many heroes, and their main aim seems to be to achieve their own ends, which they all do. It reflects on the period when there was a peace move to save Kaurvas and Pandvas from the great Mahabharata war which resulted in the ruin of the former and heavy losses to the latter.[29]

24 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., pp. 95-6.
Svapna Vasavadatta, preface, p. 6.

25 H.W. Wells, The classical Drama of India, p. 11.
If the title Karṇabhara i.e. responsibility of Karṇa as a commander is to be significant, at least one act mors can be had to describe the feats of Karṇa (T. Ganpati, preface to (5 Works) Granthanka, 22.

26 T. Ganpati Śastri, Granthanka. 22.
Svapanvasavadatta, preface, p. 7.
A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 96.

27 Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., p. 300; T. Ganpati Shastri, Preface Granthanka. No. 22.

28 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 96.

29 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., pp. 96-7.

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According to this play, Droṇacharya's advice to give half the kingdom to Pandvas was accepted by Duryodhana provided they were traced within five nights. Hence the name with efforts of Droṇacharya, Pandvas returned within the limited time and they were given their share. This is different from the original Mahabharata story.[30]

A father-son scene in this play is noteworthy. In order perhaps to serve the dramatic purpose, Abhimanyu is shown as fighting on the side of Kaurvas and is taken as prisoner by his uncle, Bhima. This leads to a dramatic scene between Abhimanyu and his father, Arjuna.[31]

*Dutavakya* is a one-act play. It deals with the Krishna legend but is based on Mahabharata. It is classed as Vyayoga. Bhasa has purposely avoided the episode of Krishna providing garments to Draupti in 'Chir-harṇa', perhaps on artistic grounds.[32]

*Bālacharita* is the story of Krishna's childhood, culminating with the slaying of Kaṁsa. This recalls Patanjali's early references to the plays based upon the Krishna legend.[33] The precise source of the drama is not ascertained. It is different from the stories of Krishna in Harivaṁca, Vishnu and Bhagvata Puranas. But none of these works available to us is older than Bhasa. As in Harivaṁca and Bhagvata Purana, the erotic element associated with Krishna is lacking here also. The figure of Radha is missing.[34]

The plots of *Pratimanataka* and *Abhisheka Nataka* are based on Ramayana.

Bhasa, as usual has introduced bold modifications to serve his dramatic purpose. In Pratima, Rama and Ravaṇa meet before the abduction of Sita. Rama pursued the golden deer not to satisfy the whim of Sita but to make a valued offering to the memory of his father. Rama here has not rejected Sita immediately after the

30 Sanskrit Sahitya Ka Itihas, p. 502.
T. Ganpati, Pañcratra, Kathavastusaṁkṣepa.
31 Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., p. 291.
32 T. Ganpati Śastri, Granthanka. 22.
Dutvakya has no Prakrit dialects.
A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 97.
Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., p. 290.
33 Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., p. 290.
A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 98.
Sanskrit Sahitya Ka Itihas (Hindi), p. 502.
34 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 100.

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victory. The most important change in the work is the characterisation of Kaikeyi. She demands the throne for a political purposes, that is, the destruction of the oppressive regime of Ravaṇa. She accepts the hatred of the public, which interprets her motive as pure greed. She faces the barbed words of his own son Bhārata, who rebukes her for bringing disgrace, dishonour and death to Daṣaratha and suffering to Rama and Sita.[35]

In ancient days, if kings died, their stone-images were placed in Dev-kuls. Bharata on his return from Kaikey-desh saw the image (Pratima) of his father on way and came to know of about Daṣaratha's death. Hence the name of the drama.[36]

*Abhiśeka Nataka* is of six acts and deals with the Ramayana story from Bali's death to Rama's coronation. Bhasa has revealed us superb descriptive powers in the evocation of nature unspoiled by any flamboyant rhetoric. When Ram's army reaches the sea, the excitement is shared by the readers "Here is the ocean, sleeping like Vishnu on a sapphire—blue bed billows breaking into foam, and possessed of a thousand army in the shape of rivers."[37]

*Avimaraka* is a drama of six acts based upon Katha literature. (Kāmsutra-Vyakhya). It deals with the love-story of Avimaraka and Kurangi the daughter of Kuntibhoja. The romantic story is depicted beautifully interweaving nature and similies. e.g. "The eastern quarter is tinged with black, while the west gleans with the evening red. What a beautiful thing the world is ! It wipes from its brow the Tilak (red spot of saffron) and puts on the Blue mantle bespangled with stars. It exchanges the burning heat of the day for the cool

35 Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., p. 290.
A.B. Keith, H.S.L., pp. 100-1.
Sanskrit Sahitya Ka Itihas (Hindi), p. 502.

36 Sanskrit Sahitya Ka Itihas, p. 502.
The custom of placing stone or carved images of dead near water-springs is prevalent in Jammu Province. I have seen such Pratimas lying by the side of springs or near temples on way to Reasi and Kathua from Jammu and Ramnagar (Udhampur District) proper.

37 Krishna Chaitanya, p. 291.
A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 101.
Skt. Sahitya Ka Itihas, p. 501.
Five pal-leaf manuscripts in Malayalam character, about two century old were discovered by T. Ganpati Śastri, from Palace Library Trivandrum, Kailasapuram M. Govinda, Pisharodi Kadutturutti, Mr. Krishnam Tantri, Chengannur and from Panthalam palace. (T. Ganpati Shastri, preface to Abhiśeka-nataka).

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delicious breeze and changes from a world of work and trade into a world of interlaced lovers".[38]

Avimaraka is a drama of love primitive in its expression and intensity.[39] "The poetic merit of ओजस is here embedded with that of माधुर्य and प्रसाद on suitable occasions."[40] *Pratijñayaugandharayana*—is styled as Prakarṇa and has its source in Katha literature. Though the Bṛhatkatha of Gunadhya's original work is written in Pacaci—*Prakrit* is lost but is preserved in one Nepal and two Kashmir versions. The story of King Mahasena's capture of Udyana by an artificial elephant, is severely criticised by Bhamaha. Vamana has quoted one line of Arthaśastra which occurs in Act IV (Verse 3) proving Bhasa was a latter writer.[40] This drama anticipates Viśakadatta's Mudra-Rakshasa having Kautalya as the hero. Kalidasa and Harsha also refer to it.[41]

This drama is full of life, energy and action with plenty of resources. The story is a prelude to Svapnavasavdatta, and the two have close affinity to each other.[42] It is a powerful play of political intrigue,[43] in which Yaugandharayana is the central figure. *Svapan-*

38 T. Ganpati, Avimaraka. T.S.S. No. XX.
Avimaraka was a prince of Savvirakas, who lived in the form of a Śwapāka (low-caste) owing to a sage's curse in concealed residence in the city of Kuntibhoja with his parents. He saved Kurangi the daughter of Kuntibhoja, his uncle, from a fanatic elephant. As a consequence, mutual love springs. They lived in palace, then separated and then came in contact with the help of magic ring.
Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., p. 291.
A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 101.
Skt. Sahitya Ka Itihas, p. 502.

39 Avi-maraka, a sheep-killer, a prince in disguise due to curse (S.K. Dey, H.S.L., p. 115).
S.K. Dey, H.S.L., p. 116.

40 T. Ganpati Shastri, preface Avimaraka.
A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p, 102. Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., p. 296.
T. Ganpati Shastri discovered three MSS of this, rupaka, which is styled in MSS as Pratijñayaugandharāyana or Pratijña natika. An old MSS styled Mantrānkavyakhyāna was obtained from the Palace Library, which contain small commentary on III Act of the play. Third Act must have been styled Mantrānka as its leading subject matter is the minister's advice. Though the commentary is not free from defects, but is useful. (T . Ganpati, preface to Pratijña-Yaugandharāyana).

41 Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., p. 307.

42 Kunhan, Survey of S.L., pp. 160, 162.

43 Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., p. 291.
S.K. Dey, H.S.L , p. 110.

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*vasavdatta* is the continuation of Pratyñayaugandharayana and is in six acts. The whole play centres round the strategy of Yaugandharayana to secure the help of the king of Magadha for the defeat of enemies. The device he thought out is the marriage of king Udayana with Padamavati, daughter of the king of Magadha. The king is temporarily separated from his beloved Vasavadatta by a rumour that she has perished in a conflagration and Padamavati is married to him. The king dreams (Svapana) of Vasavadatta, whom he never forgot. Hence the name of the drama. Ultimately the king conquered his foes and Vasavadatta is restored to him.[44] Bhasa's scene of Udayana's dream and crying for Vasavadatta, and the later's response to his questions, who was lingering near him for bringing solace to his lace-rated heart is the most brilliant high light of fourth century Drama.[45] Essentially Svapan—Vasavadatta is the drama of the study of human feelings. The story is very little, though full of arresting situations and much excitement.[46] This is Bhasa's most mature piece of drama.[47]

*Charudatta* or Dridra Charudatta is the love story of a Brahman merchant and a hetaera Vasantasena. The Brahman merchant is impoverished by his generosity. The story is woven to depict social life of the period, where slave, thief, Brahman merchant, hetaera devoted wife and Buddhist monks are shown in their true colours.[48] The first four acts of Charudatta and Mṛchchhakatika are the same.[49]

**Criticism**

Bhasa's plays do not observe the dramaturgic regulations of Bharata and his followers, which are more or less obeyed by the classical drama.[50] All these plays, though representing different tradition of dramatic practice, are of undoubted importance in the literary history of Sanskrit Drama.[51] The variety of theme and the successful sur-

44 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 103.
Krishna Chaitanya, p. 103.
Sk. Sahitya Ka Itihas, p. 503.
M. Krishnam, H.C.S.L., pp. 559-61.
45 Krishna Chaitanya, H.S.L., pp. 299-300.
46 Kunhan, S.S.L., p. 159.
47 A.B. Keith, p. 103.
48 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., pp. 103-4.
49 Kunhan, S.S.L., p. 162.
M. Krishnam, H.C.S.L., p. 562.
50 S.K. Dey, H.S.L., p. 103.
51 S.K. Dey, H.S.L., p. 109.

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mounting of limitations imposed by the choice of epic-subjects, successfully surmounted, indicate the activity and originality of his talent.[52]

Bhasa's Sanskrit is mainly correct according to the rules of the grammarians. Dūtakavya has no Prakrit. Otherwise he has followed Caurasenī in all other plays. Magadhi is found in two different forms, which may be styled as Ardhamagadhi.

Bhasa's language has a transitional aspect from Aṣvaghosa to Kalidasa. Hard consonants are never softened by Aṣvaghosa save once, while ṭ and t are changed to ḍ and d by Bhasa. The change in consonants, vowels, and Magadhi is also seen in Bhasa's works.[53]

All the nine Rasas are employed in the different plays of Bhasa.[54]

**Kalidasa's Debt to Bhasa**

The probability that Kalidasa was influenced by an illustrious predecessor is turned into certainty by the numerous coincidences in the works of the two writers. Śakuntla's (Act I) bark dress appeals to the king as elegant and becoming of a maiden of the hermitage. The germ of this idea is found in Pratima Nataka (Act I) where Sita decks herself in bark dress and evokes the opinion of her friend. Similarly (in the same act) Śakuntla watering the garden is a borrowed fact. This is treated as an act of penance on the part of the maiden. The same idea occurs in a parallel passage in Act V of Pratima Nataka. Again in the same act of Pratima Nataka, Rama bids Sita to take farewell of the fawns and the trees which are her foster-children and of her friends, the vindhya mountains and the creepers. In Śakuntla, the trees and creepers share the grief at her departure and the foster-child a term is used for the deer. Vāsavadatta with the lute lost by Udayana provides the parallel for the ring lost by Śakuntla. The spirit of the verses is similar.

Similarly, the curse of Durvasa brings misery to Śakuntla as in Avimaraka the curse of Chandrabhargava reduces the hero to a very humble rank.[55]

52 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 105.
53 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., pp. 120-22.
54 Svapan Vasavadatta, Intro., p. 15.
Nine rasas are, Śringar, Vir, Karūṇa, Adbhut, Hasya, Bhyānak, Vibhatsya, Raudra, and Shanta.
55 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., pp. 124-26.

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**Saumilla and Kaviputra**

Kalidasa refers to these two great predecessors in the play Mālvikaginimitra. Rajaśekhar mentions Saumilla as a poet of Maharaṣtra. He adds that Saumilla and Ramilla composed a Śudrakakatha, which is compared to Ardhanariśvara (Śiva). This may be a hint to the union of heroic and love sentiments in the tale. Śāṛṅgadharapaddhati attributes one stanza to them.[56]

According to a verse in Subhasitavali,[57] Kaviputras (not Kaviputra) were also collaborators. In later days collaborators are very rare.

Nothing more is known of the great writers as to have received admiration from Kalidasa.

**Kalidasa**

The central figure among the 'Nav-ratnas' of Chandra Gupta's court. By common consent, he has acquired the immortal reputation as the greatest poet and dramatist that ever lived in India. He flourished when Puranic Hinduism, prevailed and the Hindu Trinity was worshipped. To him are attributed the plays Abhijñanaśakuntla, Vikramõrvaśi, Mālvikaginimitra, and the epic poems called Mahakavyas, Raghuvamṣa, Kumar Sambhava, Meghadutta, and the lyrical poem Ritusamhara. All the writings of Kalidasa depict the court life and the life of the pper society. It is perhaps motivated by his being a court-poet.

**Dramas of Kalidasa**

Mālvikaginimitra is the first dramatic work of Kalidasa.[58] This play

56 तौ शूद्रक कथाकारौ वन्द्यौ रमिल सौमिल्ली ।
ययोर्द्वयोः काव्यमासीदर्ध नारी ज्वरोपम् ॥ Raj Śekhar.
CXXXIII 40, quoted by A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 127.
In Atmabodhendrasarasvati's commentary on Gunrurat Namalika there is a quotation for Romilla's play Maniprabha. It tells Romilla and Mentha were the keepers of the horses and elephants of king Harsen.
M. Krishnam, H.C.S.L., p. 551 and ft. n. 3.

57 v. 2227.

58 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 147.
The poet has sought excuse from Bhasa, Saumilla and Kaviputra in the prologue for presenting a new play. This hesitation is lesser in Vikramorvashi and is not ably visible in Śakuntla.

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was first performed at a spring festival in Ujjyain,[59] and dramatises the harem intrigue of king Agnimitra of Videsa probably of the Śunga dynasty.[60] The play depicts the love of the king with Malavika, one of the very beautiful attendants of the queen, who tries to keep the attendant away from the king's sight. The efforts of the king to see and talk to Malavika leads to many intrigues. While paying all consideration to the delicate feeling of his spouses the king succeeds in winning over Malavika. Finally, when the identity of her being a princess by birth is disclosed the objection to her union with the king is erased and all ends happily. Commentaries of Mālvikaginimitra are written by Katya Vema, Nilkantha Virraghava, Mṛtyunjaya, Niśśanka Tarkkvacapati, Srikantha, Parikṣit and Kunjunni Raja.[61]

**Vikramorvaci**

This is the second play of Kalidasa.[62] It represents territorial and celestial events. King Pururavas rescues the mymph Urvasi from the hands of demons and wins her lover by her heroism. On the summons from Indra, she had to part with the king, who becomes disconsolate. She drops a letter before him from air written on birch bark, breathing her love. Unluckily it is picked up by the queen and she is wild. Meanwhile Urvaṣi plays the role of Lakshmi in the celestial theatre and is criticised for her bad acting by two pupils of Bharata. With her mind engrossed in Pururavas, she makes a slip of the tongue when asked for the reason. Instead of saying she loves Purushottama (Vishnu), she says she loves Pururavas. Bharata curses her to go to the lower world. Indra mitigates the effect of the curse and gives her leave to dwell on earth with her lover till Pururavas sees the face of her child. Act IV tells us that Urvaṣi in her wanderings trespassed into the forbidden grounds of Kanvas grove and is transformed into a creeper. The king becomes mad and enquires about her whereabout from the clouds (whom he deems a demon that had stolen Urvaṣi), the peacocks, cuckoos, flamings bees, elephants, boars, and antelopes. He thinks she has been transformed into a stream and sees the movements of her eyebrows in the waves and her girdle in the rows of birds in water. He dances, sings, faints in madness and ultimately, under the

59 Māl., p. 5.
60 M. Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 595.
A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 149.
61 H.C.S.L., pp. 595-6 (ft. notes 3,4, 1-5 give the details of editions).
62 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 149.

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influence of a magic stone, grasps a creeper which in his embrace, turns into Urvaṣi.

The drama descends in Act V from this climax. Pururavas and Urvaṣi are back in the capital. The moon festival is celebrated but the magic of the festival is stolen by a vulture. The vulture however falls pierced by an archer. The arrow bears the inscription, "The arrow of Ayus the son of Urvaṣi and Pururavas." Ayus is brought to the king, and the time comes for Urvaṣi to return. Indra however allows her to live with Pururavas feeling indebted to the king for his aid in the destruction of demons.[63]

This play has two recensions, one in Bengali and Devanagari manuscript with a commentary by Katayavoma, minister of the Reddi prince Kumaragiri of Koṇḍavīdu (about 1400 A.D.). The difference between these North and South recensions is mainly in Act IV. The Northern recension gives a series of Apabhrança verses, with directions to the mode of singing, which are ignored in the Southern recension. The Northern Text calls it Trotaka, from the dance which accompanies the verses and the southerns call it a Nataka (Drama), which it is.[64]

Anandavardhana, the greatest of writers on poetics appreciates Kalidasa for his depiction of the conflicting moods of king Pururava in his love for Urvaṣi. The poet's skill in preserving the sentiment intact, enhances its suggestion when alien moods are described.[65]

Kalidasa[66] looks upon inanimate objects with sympathetic and sophisticated eyes of a lover and has infused emotional flavour in an appealing manner. "His fancy superimposes the features, feelings

63 Kings search for Urvashi is prototype of Rama's search for Sita in Ramayana Ramayana III 60. The photo of Terra-Cotta depicting Vikramorvashi figure is attached herewith. It is lying in N. Museum, Delhi.

64 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., pp. 151-2.

65 Dhv., p. 365. Dr. R.K.N. Pillai, Kalidasa: an Assessment by Ananda Vardhana, pp. 11,12. In Vikramorvaṣi, the struggle is between Śanta (quiet) and Autsukya (ardent desire), mati and Smṛti, Śanka (doubtful) and dainya (pity), dhriti (self possession) and Cinta (anxiety), and the pairs of opposed moods connected with Śanta and Śringar are predominated by the sentiment o love as a Victor.
Dr. R.K. Pillai, K.A.A , pp. 13-4.

66 तरंङ्गा भ्रुभङ्गा क्षुभित विहगश्रेणिरशना ।
विकषन्ती फेनं वसनभिवसंरम्भशिथिलम् ॥
यथाऽऽविद्धं याति स्खलिनमभिसंधाय बहुशां ।
नदीभाविनेयं ध्रुवमसहना सा परिणिता ॥ Vik. IV 52.
Dr. R.K. Pillai, K.A.A., pp. 13-4.

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and movements of Urvaṣi on the river and the whole description turns out as beautiful for its emotional charm as that of any sentient character."[67] The poet's sentiment of Vipralambha of love in separation reaches spiral heights.

The poet has projected his emotional mind on the inanimate objects and is able to find human-like behaviour even in a river and a creeper which appears to him Urvaṣi transformed.[68]

*Śakuntla*: This is perfect work of Kalidasa's art[69] and perhaps belongs to his later period.[70] King Duṣyanta pursuing an antelope enters the outskirts of Kanva's hermitage. The king alights from his chariot and decides to pay homage to the Rishi. But the Rishi is absent and his foster-daughter Śakuntla is there with her friends. Struck by her beauty, he gallantly helps her when she is pursued by a bee. His love is reciprocated and they enter into a Gandharva marriage. He gives her his ring as a token of their union, with a promise to send for her soon, Duṣyanta after this returns to his kingdom. Śakuntla is so much engrossed in her thoughts of the king that she forgets to pay proper courtesies when sage Durvasa visits the hermitage The sage in his impatience pronounces a curse which obliterates Duṣyanta's memory of her. The spell of the curse would pass only at the sight of the ring. Time passes, Śakuntla is approaching motherhood. The sage Kanva decides to send her to the king under escort. See reaches the court. The king had forgotten the amorous incident of the sylvan park under the influence of the curse. In vain Śakuntla and her friends revive his memory, but they fail in the absence of the ring which has been lost. Śakuntla laments her fate. In her advanced stage of pregnancy, she is taken by her mother Urvaṣi to the celestial abode. Meanwhile there is an entr'acte and the ring is recovered from a fisherman who found it in a fish that

67 Dhv. Bhāvanacetanānapi Cetanavaccetānanācctanavat !
Vyavaharayati Yatheṣtam Sukaviḥ Kāvye Svantarataya.

68 Ānandavardhana has illustrated Act IV Verse 66 and 52; to test Kalidasa's works on the touchstone of rhetoricians, who believe that if a poet is void of emotions his work also cannot rouse any sentiment.
Sṛngari cet kavih kavya jatam rasamajam jagat. Saeva Vitragaścet nirasam Sarvameva tat 11 (Dhv., p. 493).

69 The traditional verse about the drama is
कालिदासस्य सर्वस्वमभिज्ञान शकुन्तलम् ।
तत्रापि च चतुर्थोऽङ्को यत्र याति शकुन्तला ॥

70 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 152.

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he caught. He is brought to the king as a thief. The sight of the ring reminds the king of Śakuntla. She had dropped the ring while bathing in a tank on her way from her father's house to Duṣyanta's kingdom. The king regrets and laments but all in vain. The time comes when Indra seeks the help of Duṣyanta to fight against foes. While driving in Indra's car, Duṣyanta sees a young boy, his own son Bharat, playing with a cub. There is a happy reunion of Śakuntla and Duṣyanta.

The original story of Śakuntla is adapted by Kalidasa from Mahabharata of the original dry and unromantic skeleton, the poet breathes the life of Romanticism and animation with his artistic skill.[71] Anandavardhana has appreciated the changes and cites them in his work to prove the genius of the poet.

The animation of love,[72] the description of Śakuntla by Duṣyanta,[73] the advice of Anasuya and Priyaṁvada to Śakuntla to confess her love, the suggestion of these friends that she should write a letter, Duṣyanta's reaction 'Śrutam yatśrotavyam,'[74] pleasant surprise at the king's sudden appearance, and the promise that Śakuntla's son would succeed the throne are among the changes introduced by Kalidasa in the original dry story. Similarly, the great poet enhances the aesthetic beauty of the love-motif in this drama by introducing minor modification such as the Gandharva marriage. In the original story, Śakuntla insists that the marriage be solemnised by a Purohita, but here in Kalidasa's work she is blessed by the parents after the marriage.[75] Duṣyanta falls in love with the celestial beauty of Śakuntla while she is watering the plants, and the king observes her from a hiding place. The steady growth of his love, is a beautiful example of *Samasokti*, which suggests the behaviour of lovers.[76]

The descriptive scene of a bee chasing Śakuntla while the king's heart surges with passionate desire for Śakuntla and his helplessness, is an outstanding example of *Vyatireka*, which indicates Duṣyanta's aadent desire.[77]

71 Dr. P.K.N. Pillai, Kalidasa, pp. 30-31.
72 Śak. Act I. 18, 19, 20, 21, 28 ff.
73 Śak. Act I. 22, 24, 26, Act II. 10, Act III. 4.
74 Śak. III. 14, p. 163.
75 Dr. P.K.N. Pillai, pp. 35-42.
76 Dr. P.K.N. Pillai, Kalidasa, pp. 15-6. Śak. Act I.
77 *Idid.*

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**Suggestive Words**

Kalidasa has use small suggestive words suffixes, prefixes, and particles which have contributed considerably to the beauty of the poetry. In Act III. v38. When Śakuntla is left by her friends alone in the company of Duṣyanta, he naturally makes advances at opportune moments. But he could not kiss her[78] (न चुम्बितंतु) as Śakuntla parts hearing the warning of friend to Cakravaka (she-bird) to bid farewell to its mate due to approaching darkness. Here the particle 'tu' (but alas) at the end of the stanza has enhanced the emotional appeal which would otherwise have been lost. According to Abhinavgupta, the particle indicating the disappointment of the lover suggest that the king would have derived the satisfaction of his life by merely kissing her. The use of this particle 'tu', intensifies the king's longing for the privilege of kissing Śakuntla and accelerates the suggestion of the sentiment of Sṛngara or love.[79] The dramatic situations created by the poet in Śakuntla are marvellous examples of the poet's skill in depicting Rasa-dhvani as discussed above in the call to charavaka which hints Śakuntla of her mother's approach. One more very conspicuous example is in Act VI, the loss of the ring, its finding and the king's repentence are beautiful examples of *Vipralambha.*[80]

**Theatrical Technique**

Śakuntla is a most gracefully launched play. From the first to the last Act, it is universally admired. There is a balance of stage, scenery and predominance of characters. Actions reach their climax in Act V, dialogue in Act VI and sensational effect in the last Act.[81]

**Mahakavyas of Kalidasa**

*The Raghuvaṁsa* is based on epic and purana, and sketches the history of the dynasty of sun-born (Suryavamśi) kings.[82] The first nine cantos narrate the history of the race of Raghu and 10-15 cantos recount the life of Rama. The narration continues with

78 Act III 38.
79 Dr. P.K.N. Pillai, Kalidasa, pp. 24-5.
80 Dr. P.K.N. Pillai, Kalidasa, p. 44.
81 H.W. Wells, C.D.I., pp. 100-3.
82 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 93.

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Rama's successors upto Agnivarma. The last (19th) canto presents the coronation of his posthumous son then in the womb. Its verse here is very touching.[83] Kalidasa has mentions 21 kings in Raghuvaṁsa Dilip, Raghu, Aja, Daśratha, Rama, Kuṣa, Atithi, Niṣadha, Nalā, Nabha, Pundrika Kṣemadhanya, Devanika, Ahmanya, Pariyatra, Sila, Unnabha, Vajraghosa, Sankhna, Vyuṣitasva, Viṣvasaha, Hiranyanabha, Kauśalya, Brahmitha, Putra, Punya, Dhruvasandhi, Sudarśana and Agnivarṇa.

The list of kings given by Kalidasa does not agree with that of Ramayana, but generally agrees with Vayu Purana and Vishnu Purana. "Ramayana lists two kings between Dilip and Raghu, and eleven between Raghu and Aja; while the Vayu Purana says that Diraghabahu intervenes between Dilip and Raghu and that Aja is mentioned as the son of Raghu. This tallies with Vishnu Purana."[84]

Raghuvaṁṣa is the finest Indian specimen of Mahakavya according to the definition of writers on poetics.[85]

**The Kumara Sambhava**

Two manuscripts of this work has been found one containing 1-8 cantos and the other 9—17 i.e. 17 cantos in all. According to Griffith either the work was left unfinished or time has robbed us of the conclusion cantos. Tradition tells that the poem was originally of 22 cantos.[86]

The poem is based upon a verse in Ramayana[87] and narrates the

83 Raghu. XIX. v. 56.
तस्यास्तथा विद्यनरेन्द्र विपति शोका, दुष्णेर्विलोचन जलैः प्रथमभितप्तः ।
निर्वापितः कनक कुम्भ मुखोज्झतेन, वंशभिशेकविधिना शिशिरेण गर्भः ॥
It is yet to be ascertained, whether Kalidasa's complete work is yet to be found or Kalidasa died after writing this much or the king in whose time the great poet lived, died.

84 S.P. Pandit quoted by M. Krishnam, vide, H.C.S.L., p. 114.

85 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 92.

86 M. Krishnam, H.C.S.L., pp. 114-5.

87 एष ते राम गङ्गाया विस्तरोऽभिहितो मया ।
कुमार संभवश्चैव धन्यः पुण्यस्तथैव च ॥ Balkanda XXXVII. 32.
M. Krishnam, H.C.S.L., p. 114.
According to literary tradition, *Setubandha* poem was composed by king Pravara-Sena, grandson of Chandra Gupta II from his daughter Prabhavati Gupta and Vakātaka king. The poem was probably revised by Kalidasa. The great poet was perhaps one of the tutors appointed by Chandra Gupta II. He must have visited Ramtek with his pupils and their mother who revered

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birth of Kumara [*god*], the war-hero. The gods prayed to Lord Siva for the creation of a war-general to destroy Tāraka demon. Then follows the birth of Pārvati as the daughter of the mountain god Himachala, and her marriage to Siva. With their marriage the 8th canto ends. The remaining cantos describe the birth of Kumara and destruction of the demon.[88]

Tāraka-vadh description is taken by Kalidasa from Ravaṇa vadh in Ramayana.[89] The actions of the women of the city on the arrival of Śiva and Parvati is prototype of the entrance of the prince in Buddhacarita; which again resembles Aja and Indumati's entry in Raghuvaṁsa.[90] Anandvardhana tells us that the poet's description of Pārvati[91] possesses great beauty of suggestion. Her counting of the lotus petal, with face bent down suggests bashfulness due to love, while ordinary poets express their ideas in crude and blunt manner using words in the conventional manner, Kalidasa by his superior suggestive description has lent charm to poetry like the vernal bloom to the trees.[92]

Kalidasa suggests the sentiment of love also by the auxiliaries that are directly expressed. In Kumara Sambhava,[93] the description of spring, the portrayal of Pārvati, the discharging of Kāma's arrow, the actions of Śiva as his mind becomes perturbed, all these are expressed directly unlike VI. v. 84. All the varieties of auxiliaries of Śringar are depicted in the present description. Parvati is *ālambanavibhava*, and her horriplation and shyness are Vyabhicharabhava and Sattvikavabha respectively. Śiva is *ashraya* of love and his glances ar anubhava.[94] Subordinated suggestion or Gunibhutavyanga

Ramagiri Swami. It is suggested that the idea of Yakṣa (in Meghduta's) place of exile of the hill occurred to the great poet here (Vak. Gup. Age, p. 112 and ft. n. 2).

88 Kum. I-17 cantos. Kalidasa Granthavali.

89 & 90 Ram, VI, 124, 45 with xiii 36.
Kum. vii. 56-69.
Raghu. vii 5-16.
Buddhacharitam II. 27, vii. 69.
A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 91.

91 एवं वादिनि देवर्षौ पार्श्वे पितुरधोमुखी ।
लीला कमल पत्राणि गणयामास पार्वती ॥ 84. Kum. VI.

92 Dhv., pp. 522, 528.
Dr. P.K.N. Pillai, Kalidasa, pp. 5, 6 ft. n. 1 /.

93 Kum. III 54, III 63, 67.

94 Anandavardhana's views.

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is also recognised as a type of poetry by Anandavardhana Kumarasambhava's verse vii 19 is an example of this secondary type of poetry, which if viewed from a different angle is Rasadhvani or poetry in which a sentiment that is suggested predominates.[95]

The poetic propriety and genius of the poet is criticised by Anandavardhana for his description of the amorous dalliance of Śiva and Pārvati in a manner befitting only low characters. But the Anandavardhana balances his criticism by arguing that the description is submerged by the artistic beauty and magic power of expression and hence is a tribute to Kalidasa's genius.[96]

The variety in description of Parvati in three different stages a damsel[97] unrivalled in beauty, the cupid's missile[98] decked in floral ornaments, and a bride[99] being dressed for her marriage, speaks of the poet's descriptive power of genius. Similarly Hemavan as a mountain, then as presiding spirit of the mountain, whom he has described as *Devātma* in the beginning are admirable.[100]

*The Meghduta*: Kalidasa has taken the subject matter from Ramayana. Rama's longing for the lost Sita and his message through the cloud, is the prototype for the Yakśa's sorrows for his wife with whom he is separated and his cloud the messenger.[101] Accept for occasional harshness this has been written in Mandakranta metre.[102] Kalidasa, according to Anandavardhana, has succumbed to the temptation of overdoing the imagery in his lyrics. Meghadutta II.46 is a

95 Dr. P.K.N. Pillai, Kalidasa, pp. 28-29.
Kum. vii. 19.
पत्युः शिरश्चन्द्रकलामनेन स्पृशोति संख्या परिहास पूर्वम् ।
सा रञ्जयित्वा चरणौ कृताशीर्माल्येन तां निर्वचनं जघान ॥

96 Dr. P.K.N. Pillai, Kalidasa, pp. 52-3.

97 Anandavardhana's views, Kum. I. 49.

98 Kum. III. 51-56.

99 Kum. vii. 10-22.

100 Kum. I. 1, 13, 16, 6, 9, 7, 10, 14, 12, 15, 4, 17 VI. 58. 73; VI. 66 (the sages pay compliment to him).

101 R.V. x. 108, a dog was sent as a messenger to the Pānis. In Puranas, Yudhisthra sent message through Krişna and Nala through swan.

102 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., pp. 84-5.

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glaring example, which suggest Vipralambha or the sentiment of love in separation.[103]

The beauty of suggestive words is evident throughout the work. But Yakṣa while goading the cloud to convey his message to his beloved, says that the cloud in undertaking the errand will incidentally be doing service to other women in separation as well. Appearance of the cloud in the sky, will convey to them the message that their lovers will return soon. The adjective 'Sannaddha' is used by the poet in this context.(Kah Sannaddha virahaviduram tvayyapekṣeta jayam). This is an instance of Atyanta-tira-skṛita-vacy-dhvani.[104]

Kalidasa characterises the breeze as fragrant due to its 'Maitri' with blossomed lotus flowers, (Sphutitakamalāmod amaitrikaṣāyah). It is of suggestive character and indicates 'contact' (saṁsarga) than literal meaning 'friendship'. It is Avivaksitavāc asyadhvani.[105]

Describing the residence of his beloved at Alaka, Yakṣa briefs the cloud: the pet peacock sits in the evening on a golden-staff, and it dances, as his beloved beat the time with her hands, and the bangles on her wrists tinckled (Talaih siñjadvalayasubhagaih kāntaya naṛitito me). The word *Tailaih* is plural suffix, Anandavardhana points out that is has suggestive import. It enhances love in separation and Vipralambha is suggested.[106]

*The Ritusamhar*: This is a lyrical poem of six cantos describing the circle of seasons. It begins with summer and ends with spring. Kalidasa develops this style in his pictures of spring in Kumara Sambhava and Raghuvamśa and of summer in Raghuvamśa.[107]

The poem is of far more importance than mere description of the seasons. Kalidasa depicts throughout the diverse moods of husband and wife or lover and beloved alongwith the change in seasons. "The

103 श्यामास्वङ्ग चकितहरिणी प्रेक्षणे दृष्टिपातं। वक्त्रच्छायांशशिनि शिखानां वर्हभारेषु केषान्।
उत्पश्यामि प्रतनुषु नदीवीचिषु भ्रूविलासान्हं, तैकस्मिन क्वचिदपि न ते चण्डि सादृश्यमस्ति।
Dr. P.K.N. Pillai, Kālidāsa, pp. 19-20.

104 Dr. P.K.N. quotes Anandavardhana, vide Kalidasa, ft. n. 51 p. 21. Further adds, similar word is used in Vik. iv. 7-Navajaladhara : sannanddhśyam na dṛptaniśāca raḥ.

105 Anandavardhana.

106 Vipralambhoddipakatam eti, Locana, p. 351 quoted by Dr. P.K.N. Pillai, p. 23 ft. n. 58.

107 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 83, and ft. n. I.

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poem in every line reveals youth, the lack of the ethic touch is in perfect accord with the outlook of the young, and though Kalidasa was to write much finer poetry, he was also to lose that perfect lucidity, which is one of the charms of the poem to modern taste, even if it did not appeal to writers on poetics".[108]

"The poet is censured for asserting that the swans excel maidens in beauty of gait and the branches rob their arms of loveliness, later he says he was not guilty of such discourtesy. He mixes a metaphor in speaking of clouds as having the lightening as creeper, Vatsabhatti borrows the phrase, and exploits two other verses of the poem, proving its antiquity and rendering most probable its authorship."[109] Kalidasa, in his Dramas so in his poems has expounds the Brahmanical ideal of the Gupta Age. He is unquestionably the finest master of Indian poetic style. His language is sophisticated, simple and graceful. He has used similies, alaṁkars, and Dhavani, the soul of Kavya, in confirmity to the rules of Mahakavyas. Sometimes his similies and alaṁkaras are far-fetched, but there is wit in the assertion, which beautifies the language and thought. Anandvardhana has screened all the works of Kalidasa and has shown preference for the poet by using his verses as illustrations for elucidating 'Dhvani'. He also comments, that if Kalidasa has violated the principles of poetic propriety at times his magic power of artistic description and genius submerges the defects and fascinates the readers who unconsciously ignore the defects ... a great tribute to the exrtaordinary genius of Kalidasa.[110] "Kalidasa has perhaps as much optimism for civilization as Bhavabhuti has for savager", but he does not often attain the heights which Bhavabhuti does by his untamed roughness".[111] Bhasa's and Aṣvaghosha's works undoubtedly depict the advance kavy style existing in India before Kalidasa. But in Kalidasa, the readers and critics are at once introduced to something new which none had hit upon previously, something perfect, incomparable, great and enduring for all time.[112] Śakuntla, is

108 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 84.
Stenzler, ZDM xliv. 33. n. 3, quoted by A.B. Keith vide H.S.L. ft. n. 1, p. 84.
109 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 83.
110 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., pp. 98-108.
P.K.N. Pillai, Kalidasa, pp. 52-3.
111 S.K. Dey, H.S.L., p. 153.
112 S.K. Dey, H.S.L., p. 118.

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a masterpiece of the śringār Rasa.[113] Changes introduced by the poet in the story and plot have infused endurability and perfectness. Meghduta[114] depicts the height of his imagination in which mountains and streams are personifications of human traits and noble qualities.

**Post Kalidasa Literature**

The literature of this period, which leaves no department untouched, had a great vitality and versatility. But the paucity, and the unreliability of available material does not permit an orderly histotical treatment of poets and dramatists who flourished between Kalidasa (4th century A.D.) and Magh (7th century) and Bhavabhuti (C. 8th century). For instance we know nothing of Prakrit literature which predates Hala's compilation and ends with Gunadya's Bṛhatkatha. No early collection of popular tales in Sanskrit has survived. Panch-tantra, the beast-fable is the only record of its kind. The relationship between Sattasai of Hala, the Prakrit love-poetry and the early Sataka of Amru followed up by Bhartṛihari and others is unknown. The origin of religious and gnomic stanzas found in an advanced stage in the stotra-Śataka of Mayura and Bana, and Śatakas of Bhartṛihari is equally obscure. Nothing is known about the beginning of Sanskrit prose romances earlier than the mature works Dandin, Bana and Subandhu. The dramatist works of Bhasa and Kalidasa must have inspired many a dramatists, but with the exception of Śudraka (probably 4th century A.D ) Visakhadatta Harṣa and the writers of four early monologue plays (Bhaṅas), ascribed respectively to Vararuci, Śudraka, Ishvardatta and Śyamilaka, all the names are missing. Similarly with Bharvi, Bhatti, Kumaradasa, Magh, and a few minor poets, the list of Mahakavya writers of the period is complete.[115]

113 Kalidasa's Śakuntla, though based upon a story in Mahabharata is a masterpiece depicting maiden love. (Kama Kalpa, p. 63).

114 "Nestled in the mountains and streams as if in their lap, the beautiful city of Alaka looks like a damsel", Megh., p. 63.
Similarly Ayodhya comes and woos king Kuṣa as a lord (Raghu. XIX. 13).

115 S.K. Dey, H.S.L., pp. 155-6, 188. The lower limit of Bhavabhuti's date is the last quarter of 8thC. A.D. (p. 280) Dr. G.V. Devasthali, vide Cl. A., p. 308 writes that Bhavabhuti was the court poet of Yaśovarman, the king of Kanauj (Rajat. IV. 144) who was defeated by king Muktapida Lalitaditya of Kashmir sometimes after 736. So Bhavabhuti perhaps lived in early 8th Century A.D.; A.B. Keith, H.S.D., Bhavabhuti lived in about 700 A.D.

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**Drama**

Śudraka, the author of Mrchcchakatika, probably flourished in 4th century.[116] The play is one of the most interesting in Sanskrit literature. The play's simplicity and its close relation to Bhasa's Charudatta have given rise to several controversies which remain unresolved by Sanskrit research scholars.

*Visakhadatta* the famous writer of Mudraraksha and Devi Chandra Gupta, probably flourished in the beginning of the 5th century A.D.[117] Mudraraksha describes the revolution which placed Chandra Gupta Maurya on the throne of Magadha. Devi Chandra Gupta is a famous political play, which describes how Chandra Gupta killed the Śaka king in the guise of his sister-in-law and eventually ascended the Gupta throne.

In Mudraraksha, Chandra Gupta is compared to the great god Vishnu, who in his boar incarnation lifted the earth that had been trampled upon by the demons. In the final benedictory verse the king is spoken of as having lifted the earth that was trampled down by Mlechchhas, the forsign enemies. Since Chandra Gupta of the Gupta dynasty had such exploits to his credit, there is every likelihood that this verse is a reference to him. The writer seems to be holding to the Gupta imperial line of 5th century A.D.

*Mudraraksha* : The Sanskrit of this play is classical and the poet has used three types of Prakrit : Cauraseni, Maharaṣtri and Magadhi. "The metres used are Cārdulavikriḍita (39), Sragdhara (24), Vasantatalika (19), and Cikharini (18); the śloka also occurs 22 times. Other metres are sporadic, save Prakrit Āryas; they include Upajāti, Aupacchandasika, Puṣpitāgrā, Praharṣini, Malini, Mandākranta, Rucirā, Vancastha, Suvadana (iv. 16) and Harini."[118]

The plot and language of Devi Chandra Gupta are in no way less grand than Bhāsa or Kalidasa. Rajsekhar quotes a verse in which

116 Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak.Gup. Age, p. 406. There is controversy about the date and name of the dramatist. Refer A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 128 ff.

117 M. Krishnam, H.C.S.L., p. 606.
Dr. G.V. Devasthali, vide Vak. Gup. Age, p. 406 places the dramatist in nearly 4th century A.D.; A.B. Keith vide H.S.D., p. 204 places him in the 9th century A.D. But the scene of the drama Mudraraksha is placed in Patliputra, which was flourishing in the days of Chandragupta II only. Fa-hein has pointed towards its glory while Yuan-Chwang found the city in ruins.

118 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 212.

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Chandra Gupta rescues his wife from the enemy's camp.[119]

*Sri-Harsha* (606-648)[120] or Harsha Vardhana, the king of Kanauj, was a great patron of learning and himself a poet of no mean order. His court was adorned with scholars like Baṇa, Mayura and Divakara. He is ascribed three plays Ratnavali, Priyadarśika and Nagananda. Bana praises Harsha, (his patron) for being endowed with the poetic genius. I-tsing (end of 7th century A.D.) records how Harsha versified the story of Jimutavahana and dramatised it on the stage. Ratnavali is a closer and more successful imitation of Kalidasa, and is said to be the most perfect play. Harsha's sanskrit is of the usual classical type. His prakrit—mainly Cauraseni with Maharaṣtri—indicates his careful study of the grammar.

Harśha's favourite metre is Cardulavikriḍita which occurs 23 times in Ratnavali, 20 times in Priyadarṣika and 30 times in Nagananda, the Sragdhara is second with 11, 8 and 17 occurrences.[121]

*Bhavabhuti*: The last among Kalidasa's successors is Bhavabhuti. He probably lived in the beginning of the 8th Century A.D.[122] Mahavir Charita and Uttara Rama Charita are plays based upon Ramayana. Malatimadhava, a Prakarṇa, seems to be an invention of the poet and is described as the 'Romeo and Juliet' of India with a happy ending.[123]

119 M. Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 610.

दत्वा रुद्धगतिश्शंकाधिपतये देवी ध्रुवस्वामिनी। or खसंधितये
यस्मात्खण्डित साहसो निववृते श्री शर्मगुप्तो नृपः ॥
तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गुरुगुहा कोण क्वणत्किन्तरे।
गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेय नगर स्त्रीणां गणैः कीर्तयः ॥

Kavyamimaṁsa, 116.

120 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 170.
Cl. A., pp. 309-10.
S.K. Dey, H.S. Poetics, p. 61.

121 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., pp. 181-2.

122 Kunhan, S.S.L., pp. 183.
A.B. Keith, H.S.D., pp. 186-7. Kane places him in about A.D. 700-730. Kalidasa's successors Bharavi, Dandin, Banabhatta, Subandhu, Bhartrihari, Bhavabhuti, have much common with Kalidasa and belong to 6th to 8th century A.D. (Romesh Chander Dutta, A.H.C.I., p. 126). Bhavabhuti flourished in the close of 7th Century A.D. in the beginning of 8th Century A.D. He knew the style of the period of Dandin, Subandhu and Bana (Krishnam, H.C.S.L., pp. 618, 615).

123 Klein, Geschichte des Drama, III, p. 135; Winternitz, G. I. 2, III. p. 235, quoted in Cl. A., p. 308, ft. n. 4.

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Uttara Rama Charita, a play in seven acts, holds a very high place in the theatrical literature of the world. Bhavabhuti has surpassed even Kalidasa in depicting the sentiment of *Karuṇa* (pathos or tenderness).[124] Self-sacrifice is reality to Bhavabhuti, friendship is sacred and to strive for the welfare of a friend without malice is the essential mark of true friendship.[125] His treatment is more of spiritual love than of the sensuous kind.[126]

Moreover, Bhavabhuti is considered to have surpassed even Kalidasa in the depiction of plot in Uttara Rama Charita. He introduces young boys on the stage as great heroes. They are lively and play a very important part. This is a rare feature in Sanskrit Drama and even Kalidasa's Bhārat in Śakuntla does not come up to the standard.[127]

Bhavabhuti confines himself to Cauraseni and models his style on Sanskrit in epic play, the Mahaviracharita shows the free use of the Cloka metre found 129 times, the Cardulavikriḍita 75, Vasantatalika (39), Cikharini (31) and Sragdhara (28) are the other chief metres. The Upajati, Mandakrānta and Mālini are not rare, but the Ārya (3) and Giti (I) are almost gone and there are only sporadic Aupacchandaśika, Puṣpitagra, Prithvi, Prasharṣmi, Rathodhata, Vañcastha, Calini, and Harini. Uttara Rama Charita has the same metre save Sragdhara.[128]

**Royal Play Writers**

Yaśovarman wrote Rāmabhūdaya in six acts. He was a royal poet like Harṣa[129] and said to have been a contemporary of Bhavabhuti's patron. Another royal noted play-wright is the Pallava king Mahendravarman (C. A.D. 600-630), who composed a farce named Mattavilasa. The Kāluchari king Anaṅgaharsha, referred to as Mayuraraja, lived in the closing years of the 8th century A.D. Abhinavagupta tells, that the royal writer composed two plays Udattarāghava based upon Ramayana and Tapasavastsraja relating to the story of

124 Krishnamchariar H.C.S.L., p. 627.
Cl. A., p. 308.
125 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., pp. 195-96. Uttar Ram Charita, IV, 13, 14; Mahavircharita, V. 59.
126 Cl. A., p. 308.
127 Kunhan, S.S.L., p. 183.
128 A.B. Keith, H.S.D., p. 203.
129 Cl. A. 311.

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Udayana, Vasavadatta and Padamavati.[130] Vijjaka, identified with Vijya Bhattarika wife of Pulekesin second's eldest son Chandraditya is assigned Kaumadi Mahotsava.[131] Bhattanaryan (probably before 8th centure A.D.), wrote the famous Venisamhar Nataka in six acts based upon Mahabharata.[132]

**Kavya**

Sanskrit literature has produced five Mahakavyas of great repute. Raghuvaṁśa and Kumar-Sambhava of Kalidasa, the Kiratarjuniyam of Bharavi, the Śiśupal vadh of Magh and the Naisadhiya Charita of Sri Harsa.[133] All these belong to Gupta period.

*Bharavi* C. A.D. 560[134], is the second great writer of Mahakavyas. He was influenced by Kalidasa and in turn influenced Magh.[135] His famous poem Kiratarjuniyam is written in eighteen cantos and is based upon Mahabharata. It describes the fight between Arjuna and Śiva in the garb of a mountaineer wild hunter kirata. Pleased with the valour of Arjuna, Śiva reveals himself and blesses the warrior with a gift of arms, with which he was to win his kingdom back.[136]

Bharavi's aim in Kiratarjuniyam was to infuse the spirit of heroism among the people. In II canto Draupti pleads for heroism from Yudiṣtra, who surrendered his kingdom to the enemy, like a king who allowed the enemy to take away his wife.[137] Arjuna engages in a severe

130 Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 632.
Cl. A., p. 311.

131 Cl. A., p. 311.

132 Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 612., first half of 7th A.D.

133 C. Kunhan, S.S.L., p. 136.

134 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 109. Bharvi was the son of Damodaragupta, the son Narayan Swami of Kausika gotra. He probably lived between 600-625 A.D. Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., vide ft. n. 6, p. 147, ft. n. p. 148; Cl. A., p. 311. Bharvi dates later half of 6th century.

135 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 109.

136 Kiratarjuniyam.

137 C. Kunhan, S.S.L., p. 139. The hint is towards Chandra Gupta, who is said to have, when surrounded by Śaka king, agreed to hand over his queen Dhruva Swamini to the enemy, to secure his freedom. At that time Śakas and Huṇs were invading India. People and king were meek and devoid of heroism to fight the enemy and submitted easily. Bharvi wrote to infuse heroism.

In Kavyamimasa, p. 46. Rajsekhara quotes a verse which describes Chandragupta's rescue of his wife from Śaka king. Please see ft. n. 119.

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penance, not for attaining salvation and escaping from the sins and sufferings of the world, but for winning back his kingdom. Indra failed to defeat him by tempting him with the charms of celestial nymphs. Even when on penance, Arjuna wore the warrior's clothes as well as bows and arrows. Indra was so much pleased with his firm determination and unflinching courage that he bestowed he divine weapons on him. Thus Bharavi presents the true genius of people, the spirit of heroism which never surrenders to priests and emperors. He has combined the beauty of poetry the grandeur of theme and the nobility of great purpose. He has not preached ascetism, yet his mission is successful on account of his silence and technique. Bharavi's poetry is an appeal to the nation, like a national leader and not a serman to the priests. There is material heroism from the beginning to the end.[138] "The poem bears Laksmi-pada-aṁka. The poem displays a vigour of thought and language and a lofty eloquence of expression rarely equalled in Sanskrit literature. His words are famous for their natural grace.[139] After the verse 39. v. in Kiratārjuniyam, the poet is known as Chaṭra Bharavi.[140] "He is a hard-thinking poet in whom we feel at work a certain intention of will."[141]

*Māgha* may be placed in the later half of the seventh century A.D.[142] His famous Mahakavya is Śiśupala Vadha in 20 cantos. He was

138 C. Kunhan, S.S.L., pp. 139-141.

139 Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 151.

तावुद्रा भारवेभीति यावन्माघस्य नोदयः ।
उदत च पुनर्माघे भारवेर्भारवेरिव ॥ (Traditional verse)
प्रकृति मधुराभारवि गिरः ।

140 उत्फुल्लस्थल नलिनीवनाद मुष्मादुध्द्त: सरासिजसंभव: पराग ।
वात्यभिवियाति विपर्जित: समन्तादाधते
कनक मयात पत्र लक्ष्भीम्
Kirat. v. 39

141 Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 152 and ft. n. 2. Bharvi's Arthagaurva is proverbial.

नारिकेल फल समति वचो भारवे सपदितद्विभज्यते ।
खादयन्तु स्सगर्भनिर्भरं सारमस्य रमिका यथोप्सितम् ।
उपमा कालिदासस्य भारवेर्थगौरवम् ।

Thus Mallinatha describes Bharvi's poetry full of sweetness but enveloped in garb of apparent ruggedness.

142 Cl. A., p. 311.
A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 124.

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a great grammarian and his knowledge of grammar and laxicon is apparent in his poem. He is mentioned by Samadava, Rajshekhara, Anandavandhana and Bhoja but knew the Nagananda of Harsha.[143] Traditional opinion about his workmanship is that it has three qualities: Upama Artha-gaurva and pada-lalitya.[144] He is known as Ghanta Magha after one of his quite original verses[145] Dandin (635-700 A.D.) the author of Kavyādarsha and Daskumaracharita lived before Bana (7th Century A.D.) and even Subandhu wrote Visavadatta probably before A.D. 608-9. His work is based upon Bana's Kadambari, a story of love and romance. Besides Kadambari and Harsha Charitam, which depicts the life of the poet's patron king, Sri Marsha of Kanauj. Parinaya and Chandiśataka are ascribed to Bana.[146]

In addition to these great poets of the Gupta age, there flourished Bhatti, who wrote the famous Bhaktikavya in the fifth century A.D.;[147] and Bhaumaka (first half of 7th century A.D.),[148] and the Kashmirian poet, who composed Ravanarjuniya and Ghatakapara. The writer of Ghatakapara knew messenger kavya.[149] Whether the writer of the two poems Naladaya and Sringaratilaka was Kalidasa or someone else is yet to be established.[150]

*Miscellaneous*: The fable as a form of literature underwent several stages in the evolution. Fables were framed for inculcating moral lessons and useful knowledge. The earliest known work of fables is Panchatantra. It is said to have the largest circulation in the world next to the Bible. In 531-579 A.D., a persian physician Burzoe or Burzuheh translated it in Pehlavi and incorporated it into his book of stories called Karataka and Damanaka. The Pehlavi translation,

143 Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., pp. 154-5.
A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 124.
144 Cl. A., p. 312, ft. n. 2.
145 Krishnamchariar, p. 156 and ft. n. 5.
उदयति विततो ध्वंरश्मिरञ्जावहिमरुचौ हिमधाम्नि यातिचस्तम् ।
वहति गिरिरयं विलम्बिघण्टा द्वयपरिवारित वारेणन्द्रलीलाम् ॥
Sis. IV. 20.
146 Cl. A., p. 317.
Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., 457, 467, 725 (Subandhu lived in 8th Century A.D.).
147 Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 612, Cl. A., pp. 312, 648 A.D.
148 Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 612.
149 *Ibid.*, p. 358.
150 Cl. A., p. 311.

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like the original Sanskrit text, is lost but the Syriac version made by Bud in 570 A.D. and the Arabic version by Abdullah Ibnai Magaffa about 750 A.D. are available[151] Hitopdeśa of Narayana is a far later version of Panchatantra.[152]

Brihatkatha of Gunaḍya was composed in this period, and not later than 500 A.D.[153]

**Religious and Philosophical Literature**

The literary activities of the period are in mass and unequalled. *Puraṇas* were re-written, improved and were brought upto date. The Bengal manuscript of Skanda Puraṇa was written in the Gupta hand and is assigned the 7th century A.D. on the Palaegraphical grounds.[154] The Puraṇa refers to the great Gupta king, Budha (Gupta), as Vishnu incarnate and gives his date as 3600 years after the beginning of the Kali era. Dr. Awasthi calculates it equivalent to (3600-3102) 498 A.D.[155]

*Agni Puraṇa*, belongs to the 9th century A.D. Chapters 17-20, 272-278 and 368 are older and have been borrowed from the Vishnu, the Vayu, the Matsya and the Harvaṁśa Puraṇas. Chapters 121-149 relate to astrology, astronomy and the branch of astrology leading to the kings victory in the battle-field. Chapters 121-23, probably are of the post-Gupta period and narrate the development of astronomy. Its description of time for taking betel-leaf would make it a work of the Gupta period as it came into wide use in this period.[156] Polity contained in the Agni Puraṇa are not earlier than A.D. 400 and were probably adopted in 9th century A.D. or the first half of 10th century.[157]

151 Krishnamcharlar, HCSL, pp. 423-4.
152 *Ibid.*, p. 427.
153 Cl. A., p. 314.
154 Dr. A.B.L. Awasthi, studies in Skandapuraṇa, pp. III-IV quotes. P.R. pk. p. 6 & f. no. 35 vide JRAS, 1903, p. 193. "H.P. Shastri, catalogue of palm leaf and selected paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, Calcutta 1905, pp. 111, 141 ff". The MSS which is written in old Gupta script has been assigned to 7th century A.D. by Shastri and Bendal, Puranic records etc.
155 Sk. I ii, 40, 255-256,
बुद्धः साक्षात् प्रभु (256)
Dr. Awasthi, Sk. P., p. 183.
156 Rambahadur, Polity in the Agni Purana, p. 13.
157 Rambahadur, PAP, p. 17.

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*Nilmata Purana* may have been written in the 6th or 7th century in Kashmir.[158] It gives a prominent place to Vishnu and assigns unlimited powers to this god. Vishnu has been the favourite god of many Gupta emperors[159], though the Purana is said to have existed originally as an independent work on the rites, and ceremonies of Kashmir only. Some portions of this Purana were incorporated in Brahma Purana probably before 1104-54 A.D. Vishnudharmottara Purana is assigned 400-550 A.D. It seems to have been used by the writers of Nilmata Purana.[160]

*Vayu Purana* and *Matsya Purana* have been assigned to the Gupta Age.[161] Dr. Hazra[162] has assigned probable dates to different, additions in the Puranas. According to him, different sections conceived with orthodox rites and customs in the manner of Smritis were added to the Puranas at varying periods. According to his calculations and theory, the probable dates are as follows:

Markandey Purana 3rd to 5th Century A.D. having some portions of much later period ; Brahmanda and Vayu Purana 3rd to 5th Century A.D.; Vishnu Purana 3rd to 4th Century A.D.; Bhagvat Purana 6th Century A.D. and Matsya Purana having some portions of much later period as A.D. 1000 or even later.[163]

*Vayu Purana* is mentioned in Harsa Charita (7th Century A.D.) probably Markandeya Puranas, Devi Mahatmya or Chandi Sections inspired Bana's Chandisataka and Bhavabhuti's Malatimadhava, so it appears they were existing before Bana. Alberuni has mentioned eighteen Puranas, which existed before 1000 A.D. Additions and alterations might have been done from time to time. Vishnu Purana has given the list of eighteen Puranas. The names of two Puranas here begin with m (म) (Matsya and Markandey) ; two with bh (भ) (Bhagvata and Bhavisya) ; three with Br (ब्र) (Brahma, Brahmanda and Brahm-vaivarta) ; four with V (व) (Varah, Vayu, Vaman and Vishnu). The remaining seven Puranas' initial letters are A (Agni),

158 Dr. Ved Ghai, The Nilmat Purana, Vol. I, p. 15.
159 Please refer to chapter on "Religious conditions" of this work.
160 Dr. Ved Ghai, The Nilmat P., p. 14.
161 Cl. A., p. 427.
162 Dr. Hazra, studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu rites and customs, Ch. II-IV Chronological table of Smriti chapters in Puranas is given on pp. 174-189.
163 Cl. A., p. 299.
R.C. Dutta, H.C.A.I., p. 211.

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N (Narad), P (Padma), L (Linga), G (Garuda), Ku (Kurma) and Sk (Skanda).[164]

Narad Purana's list of eighteen Puranas is lengthier than any other list. It has ascribed one or two pages for every Purana and has prescribed the charity to be given with every Puranic rite. Matsya Puranas' list of eighteen Puranas and the Ślokas in every one of them differ with Narad Purana. Sometimes it is lesser and sometimes it is more. Vayu Purana mentions eighteen Puranas but gives the list of sixteen Puranas only and the names of Vishnu, Agni and Linga Puranas are missing. Agni Purana's list of eighteen Puranas agrees with other lists but the number of Ślokas assigned to each Puraṇa is very different. Vamana Purana gives the list of Puraṇas in one śloka only. Markandeya Puraṇa's 14th chapter's eight to eleven ślokas are the repetition of Vishnu Puraṇa. Skanda Purana's Kedar Khanda has assigned, out of eighteen Puraṇas, ten to Siva four to Vishnu two to Brahma and two to other gods. Shaiva, Bhavishya, Markandeya, Linga, Varaha, Skanda, Matsya, Kurma, Vamana and Brahmanda Puraṇas are Śiva Puranas; Vaishav, Bhagvat, Narada and Garuda are Vaiṣnava Puraṇas, Brahma and Padama Puraṇas are assigned to Brahma and Agni Puraṇa is full of praise for Sun and fire.[165]

Dr. R.C. Hazra assigns Vishnudharmottara Purana a date earlier to 6th century A.D.[166]

164 Vayu Purana, Intro. by Acharya Shri Ram Sharma, p. 1.

ब्रह्म पाद्म, वैष्णवं च शैवं भागवतं तथा ।
तथा न्यन्नारदीयं च मार्कण्डेय च सप्तमम् ॥
आग्नेय मष्टमं चव भविष्यन्नवमं स्मृतम् ।
दशमं चैव ब्रह्मवैवर्त लैङ्गकेमादशं स्मृतम् ॥
वाराहं द्वादशं चैव स्कान्दं चात्र त्र्योदशम् ।
चतुर्दशं वामनं च कौर्म पंचदशं तथा ॥
मात्स्यच गरूडं चैव ब्रह्मांड च ततः परम ।
महापुराण न्येतानि ह्यष्टादश महामुने ॥

Vishnu Puraṇa, 3, 6, 21-24.

165 Vayu Puraṇa, Vol. I, Intro. by Acharya, Sri Ram Sharma, pp. 7-11.

166 Dr. R.C. Hazra, J.U.G. III, p. 39ff.
The material though incorporated in Puraṇas is undoubtedly of ancient date but they were compiled in their present form in fifth century A.D. (Gokhle, Samudra Gupta, p. 94).

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**Philosophical thoughts in the Puranas**

Puranas are a valuable source of history from ancient times to the rise of Mohammadenism and even later. In addition they give us an insight into the evolution of Hindu philosophy. The intricate philosophy of life and death, creation and forces working behind it, transmigration of the soul etc. are all illustrated in Puraṇas in simple language which even a man of weakest understanding can grasp. To quote Radhakrishnan, "The Puranas contain the truth dressed up in myths and stories to suit the weak understanding of the majority. The hard task of intersting the multitude in metaphysics is achieved in India".[167]

This vast puranic literature was developed by the Brahmanas was to popularise their own faith as against Buddhism, Jainism and the Vedic religion. To absorb all the vedic and other prevalent philosophies they made even minor rituals and gods as an integral part of the new religion—Hinduism. This assimilation was gradual but sure.[168] Even today (20th century) the rites, myths and philosophical ideas of the Puranas are dominating the general masses of the country. The faith in virtuous deeds as leading to heaven whereas evil deeds lead to torture in the hell, the doctrine of transmigration and salvation through renunciation, contemplation learning and freedom from earthly passions ... this faith is so firmly rooted in the Hindu mind, that he would prefer death to loss of faith.

The text of the great epic, Mahabharata, a great encyclopedia of ethics and religion, and of political and moral duties, was edited in the Gupta period. The known version is of this period. The earlier versions are all completely lost.[169]

167 Radhakrishnan, Indian philosophy, Vol. I, p. 25.

168 Hinduism and its philosophy was so well rooted in the minds of the masses, that in Markandey Puraṇa, Section 16, Madalasa even in lullaby to her son, sings about the chaste—Ātma; body comprising of five sects; pure Ātma never perishes, nor grows; wordly pleasures are abode of Dukha in the end; only Ajñani enjoys while Jñani takes both alike; Sex is despised as a woman is nothing but bones and flesh which perish and so must a man who loves these limbs. They are nothing but one day become a heap of flesh and bones.

The earth bears the burden of vehicle wherein sits a traveller. Similarly is Ātma in this body. The care for this Atma is neglected by us as compared with the body. It is due to great ignorance. Madalasa brought her three sons up with this lullaby of Adhyatamvada.

169 K.M. Panikkar, Survey of I.H.

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The Smṛtis of Yajñavalkya, Nārada, Kātyāyana and Brihaspati most probably belong to this period.[170]

The Sankhya philosophy was given its classical form by Iśvara-krishna in his well-known work, Sankhya-Karika, composed perhaps in early 4th century.

In the realm of Yoga, Sabara-bhashya, a standard commentary of Mimamsa-Sutras of Jaimini, was written in about 300 A.D. Vyasa-bhaṣya, a composition of Yoga-Sutras of Patanjali, was also written in about 300 A.D. [171]

**Buddhist and Jain Literature**

Though Buddhism was not the state religion, its Mahayana and Hinayana philosophy was quite popular. Its Sarvāstivādin philosophy was prominent in Kashmir.[172] Its History in Indian record begins with Moggaliputra Tissa's Katha Vathhu written in 3rd century B.C. and this tradition was not recorded till (5th century A.D.) in the commentaries of Dhammapada and Buddhaghoṣa.[173] Some passages of Divyavdana were written before 3rd century A.D., while the collection known to us could not have existed before 414 A.D.[174] Mahayana Buddhism seems to have grown stronger and stronger as the Gupta period advanced. Yuan-Chwang records the above mentioned literature and the compilation of Jataka-mala, Buddha's biography in Mahavastu, and Lalitvistara are self-speaking evidences. Similarly Lankavatara Sutra, a great Mahayana work teaching the doctrine of Vijñavada, the doctrine of consciousness, was translated by Gunbhadra in 443 A.D. Chapter I, IX and X were written in 443—573 A.D.[175]

170 Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 410.

171 Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. Age, pp. 380-81.

172 For details please refers to Chapter II, History of Buddhism in Kashmir, Dr. S. Khosla.

173 Mrs. Rhys Davids, Pts. of controversy, pp. XXX. Winternitz on the bases of La Valle Pousin believes that the real work may have been written by Tissa in 3rd century B.C. but the work which we get contains numerous additions made from time to time (Winternitz, H.I.L., Vol. II, pp. 170-71).

In Ceylon, the first Southern (Pali) scriptures seem to have been written in 88-76 B.C. in the reign of king Vartagam (Turnour, Mahavamṣa, p. 207).

174 Divyāvdana (Cowell and Neil) 1886, p. 399.

175 Winternitz, H.S.L., II, pp. 295, 332-33).
Lankāvatar-Sutra, D.I. Suzuki, I and Intro. p. X, LIV.

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Dipavaṁśa[176] written in the beginning of the 4th and first third of the 5th century A.D. and Mahavaṁśa[177] probably written in the last quarter of 5th century A.D. are valuable for reconstructing the history of India and Ceylon.

Buddhaghoṣa (387 A.D.)[178] composed Visuddimagga expounding Śila (immaculate character), Samadhi (meditation) and Prajña (true knowledge) which ultimately leads to Nirvaṇa. His different works including commentaries on Tripitaks, have considerably influenced Buddhism in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia.

The Yogachara school's founder Maitreyanatha lived around 200 A.D. Asanga,[179] the brother of Vasubandhu (4th Century A.D.), wrote Mahayanasutralankara, Mahayana Samparigraha, Yogachara-bhumi-saśtra at Peshawar. He[180] presents the Vijñanavada school in Bodhi-sattvabhumi, part of Yogachara bhumiśastra and Mahayanasutra-lankara.

Vasubandhu's works are characterised by independent thought and depth. His two works, Vimśatika and Trimśatika, depict a master-

176 J.R.A.S., 1891, p. 420, Winternitz, H.I.L., p. 210. Jatakmala is also called 'Bodhisattvāvadana-mala'. They are nothing but the stories, having Bodhisattva as the hero. (Winternitz, H.I.L., II, p. 277) Jina (Buddha) himself predicted the composition of these stories of the Acharya and bring the same blessings as the words of Buddha (I-tsing, Takakusu, p. 156ff). The Acharaya Jñanapriya, composed, ten Jatakas, ten times in accordance with the ten paramitas. After compiling 34 of these, he passed away (Fol. 47.B) (Taranatha's History, p. 135).

177 Winternitz, H.I.L., p. 211.

178 Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 129.

Buddhaghoṣa was a Brahman born in Thaton, and was an inmate of Kalasa monastery. He was deputed to Ceylon by King Dhammapala, to bring a copy of Buddhist scriptures. He first went to Gaya from Basseen in a ship for Tamatti via gangetic route. Then he went to Ceylon where he stayed for three years. (Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 129).

Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 382, Buddhaghosa lived in 5th century A.D.

179 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 73.

Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. A., p. 385.

Asanga was a Brahmana convert to Buddhism. His younger brother Vasubandhu, was a Hinayanist till late his life. He was converted to Māhāyānā by Asanga (Vak. Gup. A., p. 385) Taranatha's History, Ch. 22, pp. 149-175 give detailed accounts of the works of two brothers in Tibetan language.

180 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 495.

Taranatha's History, Ch. 23 gives details about Vasubandhu's knowledge of pitakas, p. 176 ff.

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mind refuting the existence of an external world and defending the reality of Vijñana. He attacks the Sankhya positions of Iśvarakrishna in his Parmarthasaptati.[181] His Gatha saṁgraha and Abhidharmakoṣa—of which we have Yaśomitra's Vyakhya in Sanskrit,—are most notable sources of our information on the Hinayana schools and Sarvastivada.[182]

Parmartha a great Indian monk compiled the biography of Vasubandhu between 499—569 A.D.[183] Dignaga was a disciple of Vasubandhu[184] and learnt all the Pitakas of the Mahayana and Hinayana from him. He wrote Parmana-Samuccaya, Nayaya-Parmaṇa and many texts.[185] Most of his works are available to us in translation only.[186]

## Gilgit Manuscripts

Many manuscripts deposited in a Stupa at Gilgit were first brought to the notice of scholars by Stein, edited by Dr. N. Dutt and published by late Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir in 1939.[187] They are the only Buddhist manuscripts discovered in India,[188] and belong to the 5th and the 6th Century A.D. The Jain philosophy was originally written in Prakrit.[189] As in language so in thought, it made very little progress as compared to Buddhism and Hinduism. But it could not remain immune to the all-round progress in the age of Guptas. It adopted Sanskrit due to its advantage as a widely understood language. Siddhasona Divakara (5th Century A.D.) is the most prominent

181 Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 385.
A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 496.

182 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 496.

183 Toung Pao, Vol. V, 1904, pp. 276-77 and 1.
J.R.A.S., Jan. 1905, p. 52.
Please see for Vasubandhu's life, History of Buddhism in Kashmir, Ch. IV.

184 Taranatha's History, p. 182 (Fol. 66 B).
Meghaduta refers to Dignaga as a Buddhist logician and hostile critic. (A.B. Keith, H.S.L., pp. 81, 107). For Dignaga's life please see Taranatha's History, pp. 181-185. Dignaga dates 5th or 6th Century A.D. Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 733 ft. n. 8.

185 Taranatha's History, p. 400 (the list of all the works is given).

186 S.C. Vidya Bhushan, Indian logic, p. 27.

187 Gil. Mss, Vol. I, p. 40.

188 *Ibid.*, Preface, p. ii.
The last Story describes 'Mayur Vidya' known to a Boddhisattva, who cured snake-bites with this formula. (Vol. III, p. 27).

189 A.B. Keith, H.S.L., p. 497.

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figure who wrote Sammati-Tarka to support scriptural doctrine of Anekantvada. He is known the father of Jain logic.[190]

## The Sciences

In the field of sciences also, many new inventions and discoveries were made during the Gupta age.

Colebroke the first European writer to enquire into Hindu Algebra, Arithmetic and astronomy writes about Algebra, "...The Hindus had the benefit of a good arithmetical notation, the Greeks the disadvantage of a bad one... . If it however be insisted the seed of their knowledge, it may have reached the Hindus mathematicians immediately from the Greeks of Alexandria or mediately through those of Bactria, it must at the same, be confessed that a slender germ grew and fructified rapidly, and soon attained an approved state of maturity in Indian soil."[191] The decimal system of notation with the place value of Śunya (Zero) was discovered in this age, and simplified Arithmetic problems all over the world.[192] Aryabhatta is the first Hindu writer on Algebra and astronomy in the Puranic Age. He has written Aryabhattiyam, consisting of the Gitākapada, the Gaṅtapara, the Kālkriyapada and the Golapada. He himself tells that he was born in 476 A.D.[193] The system of notation is referred to by Aryabhatta (4 9 A.D.) in the Aryabhattiyam (II.2) and was followed by Varahamihira (550 A.D.). It was first used in epigraphs in the Samkeda inscription of 695 A.D. (E.I.ii.20).[194]

The Bakshali manuscript found in a fragment though in 1881 at Bakshali village in Peshawar, gives a comprehensive idea of the advanced state of Mathematics in the Gupta period.[195]

190 Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. A., pp. 493-4.

191 Algebra Ed. from the Sanskrit, London, 1817. p. xxii quoted by R.C. Dutt, H.C.A.I., p. 240, ft. n.

192 Śunya is a term of self-efacement. E. Conze interprets that zero and cipher is nothing but Śunya. This anti-commercial system of Buddhism has given this tool to the modern commercialism without which it could have scarcely developed. E. Conze, Buddhism, p. 131.

193 R.C. Dutt, H.C.A.I., p. 243.
This work is edited by Dr. Kern.

194 Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. A., p. 413.
Aryabhatta was born in Patliputra and wrote in the early C 6 A.D. (R.C. Dutt H.C.A.I., p. 243). He lived in the court of Chandra Gupta II.

195 Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical society xxi, 1-60. Kaya, Bakshali Manuscript.

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*Aryabhattiyam* deals with the rules of involution, evolution and Arithmetic progression both of numbers and their squares and cubes. It describes several geometrical properties of circles, discusses the projective geometry and gives a value to $\pi$, that is far more accurate than ever suggested before. In Algebra it solves simultaneous equations with four unknown qualities. Trignometry was also cultivated as its use was made in solving the problems of Astronomy.[196] The work upholds the theory of the revolution of the earth on its own axis and uses the theory to explain solar and lunar eclipses.[197]

This astronomical discovery of Aryabhatta is mentioned by Kalidasa in Raghuvamsa.[198]

*Varahamihira*[199] is the next writer on astronomy in the Gupta period. He was one of the gems of Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya's court. He compiled the five older Siddhantas—Paulisa, Romaka, Vasishtha, Saura and Paitamaha—which were in use in the 3rd and 4th centuries. He wrote Brihat Samhita consisting of not less than 106 chapters. "The first twenty chapters relate to sun, moon, earth and the planets. Chapters 21 to 39 deal with rain, winds, earthquakes, meteors, rainbow, dust-storms, thunderbolts etc. Chapters 40 to 42 treat plants, vegetables and other commodities available in different seasons. Chapters 43 to 60 speak of various miscellaneous matters including portents, house building, gardening, temples and images. Chapters 61 to 78 deal with various animals, men and women. Chapters 79 to 85 treat precious stones, furniture etc. Chapters 86 to 96 treat various omens. And, Chapters 97 to 106 speak of various matters including marriages and the Zodiac."[200]

In the following century, Brahma Gupta (in 628 A.D.) wrote his Brahmaputa Siddhanta in 21 chapters. The first ten chapters contain an "Astronomical system, describing the true places of the

196 A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 414.

197 R C. Dutt, H.C.A.I., pp. 242-43.
A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. A., p. 417.

198 Raghu. XIV. 40:
छाया हि भूमेः शाशीनो मलत्वेनारोपिता, शुद्धिमता प्रजभिः।

199 Dr. Hunter as well as Alberuni give him 505 A.D. which was probably the date of his birth. Dr. Bhaodaji ascertains that the Astronomer died in 587 A.D. (R.C. Dutt, H.C.A.I., p. 244). Varahmihir flourished in second and third quarter of 6th century A.D. (Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. A., p. 418). He has not made any original contribution to Astronomy.

200 R.C. Dutt, H.C.A.I., p. 244.
Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. A., pp. 417-18.

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planets, the calculation of lunar and Solar eclipses, the position of lunar and Solar eclipses, the position of the moon's cusps, the conjunctions of planets and stars etc. The next ten chapters are supplementary, and the last chapter explains the astronomical system in a treatise on spherics."[201]

**Medicines**

The Charaka Samhita and Suśruta Samhita assumed the present form by the end of 2nd century A.D. and were reputed works in the Gupta period. They were so famous by the 8th Century that in Harun-ul-Rashid's time, they were translated into Arabic.[202] Aṣtanga Samgraha by Vaghbaṭa I (6th Century) gives a systematic summary of the teachings of these works. Navanitakam is another work on medicine composed in the Gupta period. It gives formulae and prescriptions for the practitioner. Twelve of its prescriptions are taken from Bela Samhita, 29 from Charaka Samhita and 6 from Suśruta Samhita. It is likely that some of the formulae are taken from the lost Samhitas of Harita, Jatukarna, Kśārapani and Parāśara.[203]

It is strange that in the Twentieth Century foreign medical skill and knowledge is required in India whereas twenty-two centuries ago Alexander the great kept Hindu physicians in his camp and eleven centuries ago Harun-ul-Rashid of Baghdad retained two Hindu physicians, Manka and Saleh, as his personal physicians.

201 R.C. Dutt, H.C.A.I., p. 245.
202 R.C. Dutt, H.C.A.I., p. 250.
Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. A., p. 419.
203 Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. A., p. 419.

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7

# Art and Sculpture

As Guptas rose from humble feudal lords to emperors within a few decades, they extended their centrol from Patliputra, once the capital of Kuṣanas, and to Bihar, parts of Bengal and the Indo-Gangetic plains and most of Northern India (subjugating Vakatakas) Assam, Nepal, Kumaon and the tribal kingdoms of Punjab, invaded North- astern Deccan and weakened the satrapas of Western India, brought islands like Simhala, within their dominion annihilated the Western Indian Satrapas, probably invaded Afghanistan as far as Hindukush and beyond, and added on the Vakataka and Kadamba kingdoms of the Deccan by political marriages. Thus all the centres of Hindu culture, which groaned under foreign domination, were united under the Gupta empire.

Guptas inherited the Gandhara Art influenced by the Hellenistic civilization alongwith a roused national spirit as a natural reaction to foreign domination of the country. This created a patriotic society which produced a vast body of literature and classic arts. The peace and prosperity of the age and the state patronage enabled artists to use their tools as freely as the pen was used. This resulted in the creation of a consciously created Nationalistic Art.

## Art of Coinage

Kuṣana coins were modelled on those of the Roman empire, retained Indo-Greek, Graeco-Bacterian and Parthian motifs and envolved new Zorostrian and Indian features. Buddha's image is also found on a

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few coins.[1]

Upto Skanda Gupta, coins retain their Scytho Kuṣana characters in the dress of the king and its treatment. Moreover the body contours especially of male figures is appreciably Hellenistic.[2] On the obverse the king standing and offering incense at the altar, a very common feature of the Gupta coinage, is Kuṣana prototype. Similary the reverse is a true copy of the Kuṣana type, which has Ardoksho seated on a high backed throne.[3]

Guptas brought about a definite change in their efforts to Hinduise the coinage. At the very outset, the Greek legend on the Kuṣana prototype was replaced by Brahmmi. The peaked Kuṣana cap is never seen on Gupta emperors. The reverse is transformed by introducing Goddess Lakshmi seated on a lotus instead of Ardoksho. Lakshmi is characteristically Indian in type form and attitude and is seen on the coins of Chedis, Gahaḍavālas and even on the coins of Mamud-Bin-Sam.[4]

Gupta coinage in its delicate workmanship exhibit a good deal of artistic achievement. It improved upon the design and introduced many original and unique artistic types[5], though, to quote A.N. Lahri, "The obverse and reverse devices of Greek gold coins in Bactria and India were throughout the same in principle. The obverse in Bactria bore the bust of the king, and the reverse his name and title as well as the figure of a Greek deity. Only in India the reverse Greek legend was transformed to the obverse, while its literal prakrit trans-

1 H. Goetz, India, p. 74.
Two types of currency (a) Hiranya-pinda or Buttons of gold and (b) Nishka gold coins, was prevalent in India from Rigvedic times. (Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, Lect. on Anc. Indian Numismatics, p. 168). One old Gupta gold coin retained the weight of the Roman Denarius. (D.R. Bhandarkar, L.A.I.N., p. 183).

2 By 5th century A.D. merely the name 'Nishka' remained preserved, otherwise the coins had gone out of the vogue long before 5th century A.D. (D.R. Bhandarkar, Lect. on Anc. Ind. C., pp. 181–2) Cl. A., p. 554.

3 Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak Gup. Age, p. 302.
The king offering incense at the altar lingered on for a few centuries only. (*ibid.*, p. 303).

4 Cl. A., p. 554.
Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 303.
Brahmmi is the old language of India (G.H. Ohja, The Paleography of India, p. 37).

5 R.K. Mukerji, Gupta Empire, p. 139.

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lation was on the reverse instead."[6]

**Samudra Gupta's Coins**

We have discovered 211 of Samudra Gupta's standard type coins which, except for the crecent near Garuḍa, have no foreign adaptations.[7] Samudra Gupta is the first king to introduce engraving of metrical legend on the coins. The legend on these coins of different sizes and weights is : "The unconquered one whose victories extend over a century of battles having conquered his enemies, wins heavens".[8] The goddess on these coins is probably Lakshmi.

*Archer Type*

The total number of coins discovered is 13 from Benaras District, and from places like Jaunpur, Bodh Gaya, and Bayana. They are a new type of coins, but based upon the standard type. They depict the king with bow in his left hand and arrow in his right hand. The legend also speaks of his personal prowess.[9]

*Battle-axe Type*

The total number of coins found from Kanauj, Benaras and Bayana is 23. On the obverse the king is standing with a battle-axe in his

6 A.N. Lahiri, Copus of Indo Greek Coins, p. 20.
The obverse exhibits the portrait of the king and the reverse appropriate goddess together with corresponding accompaniment of associated symbols. (R.K. Mukerji, Gupta Empire, p. 139)

7 O.P. Singh, the Imperial Gupta, pp. 34–5.
Garuḍa, is the contribution of Suparna-cult. He is assigned so high place in Mahabharata that the gods addressed prayer to him. He is the vehicle and emblem on the flag-staff of Vishnu (M.H.B.I., 2,365).

8 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 165.
Allen's catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Sasanka, king of Gauḍa
"Rajadhirajah Prithivimajitvā
Divam Jayaty-aprativarya-viryah"
The king of kings of irresistible prowess, having protected the country (thereby wins heaven (Aşvamedha coin of Samudra Gupta).

9 Coinage of Anc. India, p. 160.
From Bayana hoard 3 such coins of S. Gupta, 757 coins of C. Gupta II & 183 coins of Kumar Gupta I were discovered (Coinage in Anc. Ind., pp. 154–5).

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hand and on the obverse is a goddess seated on the throne. Dr. A.S. Altekar identifies her with Lakshmi. The legend when translated records "Wielding the battle-axe of Kritanta, the unconquered, conqueror of (upto the time) unconquered kings is victorious".[10]

Archer and battle-axe type are modifications of the standard type of coins. Here the king is holding a bow and battle-axe instead of the standard.[11]

*Asvamedha Type*

Total number of coins found is 43 from between Patna and Saharanpur. On the obverse, a sacrificial horse is standing before a decorated 'Yupa' on a platform. The position of the Yupa, according to sacred texts, shows that Samudragupta was the master of both the worlds (of human beings and world of gods). The reverse bears the portrait of crowned queen, probably Dutta Devi with a Chauri in her right hand and a towel and cloth in her left hand.[12]

The legend on Aşvamedha coins is very significant. "The king of kings, of irresistible prowess, having protected the earth, wins heavens."[13]

The type of coins issued by Samudra Gupta and Kumara Gupta's coins of the type both omit the king obverse and insert the figure of doomed horse standing before and tied to the Yupa, with a brick symbolising the altar. The reverse shows the queen and the ceremonial spear.[14a]

The letter '*Si*' under the horse is the abbreviation of 'Siddham'. The obverse reading by Allen is 'Rajadhirajah prithivimajitva divam jayatyaprativa rajaviryah'. But Mr. Menis restored the legend on the bases of a coin discovered in 1914, in its concluding portion as 'divam jayatyahṛtavajimedhah". The meter is Upajati.[14b]

10 J. Allen's Catalogue of the coins of Gupta Dynasties and of Sasanka king of Ganda.
11 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 160.
12 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 161-62, 164.
13 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 162, 165.
Allen's catalogue of the coins of Gupta Dynasty and Sasanka, king of Gauda.
Aşvamedha parakramah—one powerful enough to perform the Aşvamedha sacrifice.
14a R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Empire, p. 140.
14b Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 159-165.

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*Tiger-slayer Type*

The total number of coins discovered is 6. On the obverse, the king is trampling upon a tiger and shooting it by his bow. On the reverse, Goddess Ganga is riding on a crocodile, holding a full blown lotus in her hand.

The Tiger-slayer type coins show very high artistic taste. The king is shown in very energetic and graceful posture, representing strength and courage.[15]

*Lyrist Type*

Total number of coins discovered is 19. Here the king is seated upon a cushioned couch and is seen playing upon 'Veena'. On the reverse the goddess is seated upon a wicker stool with a noose in her right hand and Cornucopia in her left.

Samudra Gupta is credited with the innovation of this type. The fact that he was an accomplished musician and could excel Narad and Tumbaru (Vridita-tridaśa-patiguru-Tumburu-Naradādar) according to Allahabad Praśasti is supported by this type of coins.[16]

Lyrist and Aṣvamedha type of Coins are of very high artistic order. They seem to be connected by the use of letter 'Si' on the obverse. Aṣvamedha seems to have been performed towards the end of Samudra Gupta's reign. It is assumed that both the coins were issued at that time.[17] Allahabad Praśasti is silent about Aṣvamedha yajña.

**Chandra Gupta II**

Chandra Gupta II issued Archer, Standard, Couch, Chakra Vikrama, Horseman, Lion-slayer and Chhatra or umbrella types of coins. In fact his period is the glorious period in the numismatic history of India. He discarded Aṣvamedha coins of Samudra Gupta perhaps because

15 O.P. Singh, The Imp. Guptas, p. 38; Coinage in Anc. India, p. 160.

16 A. Inc., Text 27.
There are two types of these coins. One variety is better and artistic while the other is thick, small and poor in artistic merit (O.P. Singh, The Imp. Guptas, p. 38).
"The introduction of Cornucopia although not compatible with the character of Laxmi, indicates the imitation of a foreign design", H.M. Wilson, A.C.A.N.I., p. 418.

17 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 160–61.

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of his faith in Vaishnavism.[18]

Chandra Gupta Second's lion-slayer type mark the best specimen of coins struck in India.[19]

Silver coins of Chandra Gupta II are divided into two classes:

In class (a) the legend ends with Vikramaditya and in class (b) the legend ends with Vikramankasya.[20]

Horseman type of coins of Chandra Gupta II speak of his inclination towards horsemanship. He is the first emperor to issue this type of coins.[21]

The lion-slayer type coins have been found in various varieties. V.A. Smith has divided them into (a) Lion combatant type, (b) Lion trampler type and (c) Lion retreating type. All the coins depict a very high artistic treatment.[22]

**Kumara Gupta I**

He issued as many as thirteen types of coins. Most of them are a blend of different types issued by his predecessors. His Swordsman type are the same as Chatra type of Chandra Gupta II. The word Kṣiti is introduced for its synonym gā. The obverse is the same except that Kumara Gupta's coin does not have the umbrella-bearer behind the altar.

18 Coinage in Anc. India, pp. 155, 166.
His Chakra-Vikrama type, only one coin from Bayana hoard shows the god chakra puruṣa as giving some gift to the ruler and the king receiving it, which testifies direct discourse of the king with almighty (Imperial Guptas, pp. 40-41).

19 Connage in Anc. India, p. 166.
Dr. A.S. Altekar, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 303.

20 (a) Para-mahabhagvata-Maharajadhiraja-Sri-Chandragupta-vikramaditya (in horse-man type the last word of the legend is omitted).
(b) Sri-Guptakulasya Maharajadhiraja-Sri-Chandragupta Vikramankasya. (It cannot be ascertained which one is earlier or both are contemporary, one is from Gujrat and the other is from Kathiawar. Coinage in Anc. India, p. 70).

21 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 166. (The total No. of coins found is 144. V.A. Smith remarks, herein the king is neither having a sword nor a bow but a lance.)

22 V.A. Smith, C. Catalogue of the gold coins of the Imp. Gup. Dyn. of N. India.

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The reverse is an exact copy of Archer type class I type of his reign with a legend:[23]

Obv. Gamavajitya sucaritaih
kumar gupta divir jayati
Rev. Sri Kumaraguptah.

The most famous coins of Kumara Gupta's time are Rhinoceros-slayer type, Elephant-rider-lion-slayer type, and Kartikeya type, also called peacock-type.

The Rhinoceros type is both artistic and unique. The king riding a horse is depicted attacking a rhinoceros. The legend, "Bharta Khadgarata Kumargupta Jayatyanišam", is meterical and has a pun on the word Khaḍga. The metre is Upagati.[24]

Kumara Gupta I was the ruler of both Western and Eastern India. Lion and tiger type of coins recalled these two regions.[25]

Peacock type coins are an innovation of Kumara Gupta I. Contrary to the usual procedure, the reverse represents god Kartikeya as Śaktidhara with Mayur-Vahana and not a goddess. The legend Mahendra Kumara is expressive of the king's devotion to both these gods.[26]

Skanda Gupta's period was one of great struggle against foreign aggression and internal rebellions. The emperor did not get much time to pay attention to artistic developments. As the treasury was weakened, the coinage also suffered. Only the 'Archer Type' of his coinage is famous. In it, the king is seen in coat and trousers, a dress of Kushanas. This shows war-like activities of the king.

On the reverse Goddess Lakshmi depicts the king as a worshipper

23 Allen's catalogue of the coinage of Gupta Dynasties and Sasanka king of Gauḍa.
Coinage in Anc. India, p. 173.

24 Coinage in Anc. India, p. 173.
Khaḍgatrāta, protector by the sword Khaḍgentrāta, protector from the rhinceros.

25 R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Empire, p. 140.

26 R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Empire, p. 140.
His silver coins issued in central provinces have the figure of peacock on reverse instead of Garuḍa on copper coins (R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Empire, p. 141).

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of Vishnu.[27]

Coinage of the Gupta period depicts a very high standard of artistic taste and craftman's skill in translating thought in terms of metal. The variety in designs, the refineness in execution, and the legend in meter are some of the glorious achievements of the artists, mint-masters and the literary figures of the age.

*Sculpture*

Indian culture is reared in the garden of Dharma, Artha and Kama. It spread the fragrance of Moksha which has been the goal on the Indian soil.[28] Those who want to attain this goal must endure a discipline. For, the living and breathing human body is the place where Moksha is realised. "It is thus that the body is represented in Indian art (Plates 95, 81), and its scales taken as a module in Indian architecture". They were first given verbal expression in Veda (scriptures) and then in Vastu-Śastra, and Śilpa Śastra, the textbooks on Indian Art.[29] In this art, the shape of man and all subsidiary figures are ordered in accordance with a living myth. They serve its symbols and carry out its myths. Architectural proportions are governed by its concepts, which underline the relationship of builder patron and worshipper.[30]

"The temples and statues are many stages in the approach to Moksha. They are haltng places, providing rest and support for the one unanimous tradition, that flow through the word of the Veda and is borne along by the ritual in inviolable and multifold patterns."[31]

"Indian temple architecture, in the fullness of its development, establishes in spatial terms an intellectual and actual approach to the Supreme principle of which the deity is symbolic. The statue

27 Hunas and Gurjara invasions, who reached massacring, burning, looting and plundering upto Malwa and Gujrat, brought the administration in the hands of Skandagupta's generals. Between 455-67 weak successors set king against kings. By 6th century, the empire dissolved into number of military states under Vishnuvardhana, Yaśodarman, the Maukhris, Maitrakas, later Guptas, Pushpabhutis etc. Deccan witnessed the fight between Nalas, Bhojas, Kalachuris, Kadambas etc. The Imperial coinage of gold was completely devaluated (H. Goetz, India, p. 91; Coinage in Anc. India, p. 178).

28 C. Sivaramamurti, Some A.I.C., p. I.

29 Stella, The Art of India, Intro., p. 9.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 10. 'Without architectural buildings the images lose their full effect', Stella, The Art of India, Intro., p. 15.

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is the manifestation (arca-avatara) of the deity through a concrete work of art (murti), and the building is its body and house. Images are given shape by sculpture and painting, whose inter-relationship expresses in line, proportion and colour of love (Bhakti) to which gods and myths owe their existence as aspects of the Absolute."[32]

Viśvakarma is the lord of all creative work and ancestor of every craftsman.[33] The artists of Gupta Age used their tools and skill to manifest the ideals and philosophical traditions including those of Puranas, dressed up in myths and stories. They in their enthusiasm decorated even the niches and corners of religious places with thousands of Devis and Devtas along with their symbols and emblems. Stone, terracotta, metal and all available material was used to construct the abodes of gods and their spouses. Guptas gave peace and patronage. Money poured from the royal treasury and the merchant class. The state-patronage encouraged not only the artists but even the common man like Baswan and Daswan, who used their free-time to develop artistic skill. The Gupta period thus gave ethical, social and religious art, which effaced the prevailing foreign elements, and true Indian Art or National Art was the outcome.

The art of Gupta Age is represented mainly in two schools, Mathura and Benaras.[34]

Mathura had remained a centre of trade from ancient days. It was not only a prosperous city but a prolific centre of artistic activity where, in spite of the disruption of Mauryan empire and invasions and domination by Greeks, Sakas, Pahlwas, and Kuṣanas, old Indian art enjoyed continuity from early times to the medieval period.[35]

The *Mathura* school of sculpture was the older one and continued the tradition of Kuṣana-Gandhara Art and penetrated different and distant parts of the country. It developed the classic national

32 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

33 Copper plate inscription in Epigraphic Indica I, p. 159 and plates 104, 105, quoted by Stella Vide the Art of India, p. 14. ft. n. I.

34 R.K. Mukerji, Gupta Empire, p. 143.
Mathura, Benaras and Patna were the chief centres of Gupta sculptures. They were the sources of Scythian, Buddhist and Hindu influences. (Saletore, p. 439).

35 S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., pp. 61–62.

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sculpture.[36] Mathura works are distinguished by their mettled red-stone material and foreign features. The *Benaras* school's material is chunar Sandstone and its artistic features are free from foreign influence.[37]

A third school of Indian art in the opinion of R.D. Banerji, was seen in the metal images of the Gupta period. The best examples of this art are the Buddha's image at Nalanda and colossal Buddha image found at Sultanganj. This metal-images' art had its own style and techniques. Besides these, minor centres of Gupta Art were at Udaigir, Bhilsa, Eran, Deogarh, Daśapur or Mandasor.[38]

*Symbols of the Age*

As its renaissance was inspired by the spirit of religious devotion art assumed certain symbols of the age. The Ganga-Yamuna symbol is a typical Gupta emblem. It might have had a śaivite origin which later on seems to have assumed political significance. Nagas ousted Kuṣanas from Ganga-Yamuna region and adopted it in A.D. 180. From Nagas it passed to Vakatakas and thence to Samudra Gupta.[39]

Chapter 58 of Varahamihir's Samhita lays down rules for the construction of various images: Rama, Bali, Vishnu with 4 or 8 or 12 hands, Bālādeva, a goddess between Krishna and Baladeva, Samba, Brahma with four faces, Indra, Śiva and his consort, Buddha the

36 R.K. Mukerji, Gupta Empire, p. 143.
Gandhara school of sculpture sprang up. after Kaniṣka's council at Kashmir. Its two schools flourished from Ist century A.D. to the invasion of White Huns (C 5th century A.D.). The centre of one school was at Gandhara and the other was Mathura. (J.P. Ghuha, Intro., Ind. Art., pp. 115-117). The first development of Mathura school is disclosed from the Buddhist and Jain shrines' railings and gateways built during the Kuṣana period. Later on when Hinduism gained ascendency they erected temples on the sites of Buddhist sanctuaries. (P. Brown, I.A., p. 44); Goetz, India, p. 87. The revolution had begun under the last Maurya and was supported by Śunga and Kanva emperors.

37 R.K. Mukerji, Gupta Empire, p. 143. Gupta sculpture is the outcome of classical sculpture of Mathura and Amaravati, yet it seems to belong to an entirely different sphere (S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., p. 121).

38 R.K. Mukerji, Gupta Empire, 143–44.

39 Saletore, pp. 437, 540.
Kalidasa has mentioned Ganga and Yamuna as goddesses and fly whisk attendents of 'Śiva, while Ganga is supposed to have generated from the toes of Śiva (Ku. VII 42, VI, 70).

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god of Arhatas, the sun, the Linga, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Ganesh with his elephant head.[40]

One interesting symbol from the Vaisnava point of view was the Garuda the Vahana of Vishnu. It is found on copper plates and coins. Allahabad praśasti narrates how the feudatories presented Garuda token to their overlord.[41]

One decorative pillar of the later Gupta Age now at Allahabad municipal Museum bears 'Hamsa' (हंस) and dragon (मकर) emblems. Mr. O.C. Gangoli considers it the representation of Tṛtra Ātla (Agni) who with the help of Indra slays Asura Viṣhnurupa.[42]

Goddess Lakshmi appears on the seals and coins of Gupta rulers. Among other symbols wheel, Altar and vase (kalash) are worth mentioning.[43]

As compared with Vaiṣnava motifs those pertaining to Shaivism are indeed a very few, one of them is the familiar bull (Nandi), which makes its appearance on the coins of king Narendraditya.[44]

Another motif is of a man who is represented as offering his own head evidently in devotion. One terracotta penal now in the Mathura museum reveals a bearded monk with emaciated ribs detaching his own head with a sword which has half entered his neck. Many such motifs are seen in different parts of the country. Its usage can be traced to Ramayana which says Ravana appeased Brahma in a similar manner. This type of devotion is common in Śakta literature.[45]

Indian art is fundamentally naturalistic. Poets like Kalıdasa per-

40 R.C. Dutt, H.C.A.I., p. 245. This section tells about the peculiar rites of worship by each sect in 6th century A.D.

41 Saletore, pp. 538–39.

42 Saletore, p. 537.

43 Saletore, pp. 539-40.
Lakshmi as goddess and consort is mentioned by Kalidasa and represented in sculptures massaging the feet of her lord reclining under the head of Sesa (Raghu. VI 58, IX 16, IV 5, relief of Gupta temple at Deogarh 500 A.D. H. Goetz, India, p. 107.)

44 Saletore, p. 540.
Bull or Nandi as the vehicle of Siva is mentioned by Kalidasa on whose back lion's skin is spread, and wears tiny bells and the way of Nandi wearing golden girdle lies through the sky. (Ku. VII 37, 49. र वे खेलगामी ।
Kalidasa has made distinction between Shiva's Gana Nandi and vehicle Nandi (Ku. VII 37; III 41).

45 Saletore, pp. 541-42.

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ceived life and emotions in mountains, clouds, trees, and even wind. The artists took nature and its objects as supreme models for personifications. To quote H. Goetz, "poets and priests provided imagery of actress hetairai, who explored the potentialities of expression through the medium of the human body and lastly the sculptors, who had the perfect knowledge of anatomy, but could never regard that latter as a means of expression by itself."[46]

Four centuries of Gupta civilization clearly defined iconography, though an experimental fringe continued as a multitude of deities were to be assimilated, with their consorts, children, attendents.[47]

**Buddhist Sculptures**

*Gupta classical tradition*: Gods and goddesses are shown perpetually young in canonical descriptions. The sculptors had shown gliding sensitiveness of the soft and pliant texture infused with energy not only in divine images (Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jains) but in ordinary men and women as well. The artists have tried to emphasise the sensitiveness of plastic surface. To achieve this all superfluities and elaborate draperies, and jewelleries which conceal the body and its contours are reduced to the minimum. Wet or transparent drapery are the fashion.[48]

The synthesis of the external form with the inner spirit is nowhere better illustrated than in Buddha's images of the period.[49] The earliest example is the 4th century Bodhisattva from Bodh-Gaya,[50]

46 H. Goetz, India, p. 101.
Body language of the stage was transferred to sculpture, during Gupta period. H. Goetz, India, p. 106. "As the vehicle of the flow of the life and of complete spiritual experience, the human frame of the divine image rises above the level of more physical existence and image reaches true spiritual import." (S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., p. 123).

47 H. Goetz, India, p. 103.

48 S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., p. 124.
The photo of headless Buddha from Mathura (5th century A.D.) is attached herewith. It is a beautiful transparent drapery example. It is lying in N. Museum, Delhi at present. The devotee–sculptures not only expressed the inner–feeling of the gods in sculptures, but there was development of outer decorations, specially in Buddha's head-dress. A beautiful collection of the development of this art is seen in D. Seckel's 'The Art of Buddhism' (Reproduced photo is attached herewith).

49 Dr. V.S. Aggarwal, Vak. Gupta Age, p. 447.

50 S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., p. 132; p. XXI, fig. 92. Stella, The Art of India, p. 41.

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but the image clearly illustrates the Mathura traditions, including drapery, the stern discipline in the monumentalised body depicting concentrated energy, and drooping eye-lids with the glance directed to the tip of the nose (signifying the mind absorbed in deep meditation), gives the image a true spiritual import. The image is cast in buff-sandstone and Robe-tinted ochre with red-lips. It has broken arms damaged face and broken halo. It belongs to 4th century and has 3 ft. $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches height.[51]

Here Bodhisattva is shown in Padamasana, with legs locked in the Yogic posture. The left hand is resting on the left-knee and the right hand is in Abhayamudra. Stella Kramrisch says, aptly "This is the first image in India which by its form signifies what its name implies".[52]

**Sarnath**

Sarnath has introduced refineness, a delicacy of form and relaxed attitude that is in contrast to the Columner rigidity of the Mathura school. A large number of sculptures illustrate these qualities in distinctive and beautiful manner. But the masterly creation of Gupta

51 Stella, The Art of India, p. 201, Fig. 41: tells it is Buddha's image, while S.K. Saraswati (pp. 131–32) narrates it of Bodhisattva.

52 Stella, The Art of India, p. 201. Padamāsana, or lotus-posture is universally used in almost all the divinities with very few exceptions, which are either represented standing on a lotus flower or seated on lotus throne. The early Buddha stood on ground but in Mahayana Buddhism he became the epiphany of transcedental essence and is placed upon the lotus, the cosmic flower.

The left leg presses on the right thigh, while the right leg is placed on the left thigh. This is characteristic position of a Yogi and is favourable for meditation and to ecstatic concentration. It is called Padamāsana in Sanskrit (E. Dale, Mudra, pp. 122-23).

*Abhyamudra* has its origin in natural movements. The raised hand probably originated in the Middle East and spread eastward and westward. It is a common gesture in Gandharan sculpture and in Roman Art since Severus (C. 200) where the emperor is depicted with the raised right hand. In Semitic religious ritual this gesture was used as a blessing magic power (E. Dale, Mudra, p. 55).

At present the image is lying in National Museum, New Delhi.

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classical sculpture is of Buddha in Dharamachakrapravartanamudra.[53]

Dharamachakramudra perhaps is the gesture of preaching, carved in chunar sandstone. Buddha is here seated in vajra-prayanka with hands in this particular mudra. Below is a wheel flanked by seven kneeling figures. The five monks perhaps are the representation of the first adherents of the faith and two are perhaps donors. The background is decorative having a circular nimbus (prabha) exquisitely carved with a broad foliated ornament within beaded borders. The prabha is characteristic of Mathura images.[54]

"The Mathura and Sarnath idioms signify collectively the Gupta classical traditions reverberations of which may be felt in varying degrees in the artistic activities throughout the country in the North as well as in the South. The achievement of Sarnath, as exemplified by the preaching of Buddha registers a spiritual elevation, which is but seldom attained in Art".[55] Rene Grousset[56] describes an image like this as representing "an art so inspired by intellectualism as to be direct expression of soul through the purely ideal beauty of form".

Early Buddhism leaned towards portraiture of Buddha, but Gupta

53 S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., p. 135, p. XXI, fig. 94.
Dharama-chakra-pravartana-mudra. In pre-Buddhist days the solar character of the sun, meaning revolution of time in the course of sun was known. In Buddhism it was manifest as early as in Barhut and Amaravati, where he is represented at both sides as the 'Sepiternal sun' (Coomaraswami' E.B.I. pl. I fig. 2 & 3, C 200 A.D.).
Chakra wheel; vartin—he who puts in movement, close relationship may be established between Buddha and the Universal monarch, he who puts the wheel in motion, 'Chakarvatin, the wheel', that as it passes through the world crushes all evil, all error, all enemies of the Law." (E. Dale, Mudra, p. 96).
The Buddhist Art utilises first the symbol of the wheel on their temenos, in order to recall the Buddhist legend of Buddha's triumph over Māra and his first sermon at Benaras. In Iconography the same wheel appears either traced on the body of Buddha or in his hands. The wheel acknowledges the omnipotence and the sovereignty of Buddha by affirming his identification with universal monarch (E. Dale, Mudra, p. 99).
At Patliputra the famous wheal appears with 1000 spokes, engravad on stone. It is described by Y. Ch. (Si-Yu-ki, II, p. 90).
Wheel has 64 spokes at Amaravati (Coomaraswamy, E.B.I., Pl. I, fig. 2 & 3).

54 S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., pp. 135-36.

55 S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., pp. 136-37.
C. Sivaramamurti, masterpiece of Indian Sculpture, p. 2.

56 Rene Grousset, Civilisation of the East, Vol. II, India, pp. 141-42 (quoted by S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., ft. n. 10, p. 174).

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Art was free to fashion his figures in large number and variety of forms. Images of Buddha were installed in monasteries, chapels, temples and even in their outer niches. Moreover Gupta-Buddhist sculpture was dominated by the cult of Bodhisattvas. A large number of images were sculptured of maitreya,[57] Avalokiteśvara,[58] and numerous deities derived from Brahmanical pantheon like the goddess of fertility (Vasudhara), the goddess of plenty (Tara)[59] and Marichi

57 R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Empire, pp. 142-3 Mātrrya or Mātraya.
Buddha seeing a nightingale uttering melodious notes predicted "...after my Nirvana, the bird shall be born in human form and named Matriya and shall praise my virtues". I-tsing, Takasusu, 156 ff fol. 47B narrates each of the ten Jatakas ten times in accordance with the ten paramitas, after completing 34 of these, he dies (Taranath's H. of B. in India, p. 35) evidentiy it refers to Jatakmala of Aryasure ; Sura being another name of Matreta or Aşvaghosa (Taranath's H.B.I., p. 35., ft n. 26). Dinga Nikaya recognises only Mattreya, one Buddha to be, but the full conception of Bodhisattvas appears in late texts (D.N. III. 76). The development of religious ideas regarding Matreya is a characteristic feature of Sarvāstivāda school. (M. William, Buddhism, p. 187) For details please ref. History of Buddhism in Kashmir, p. 107 ff.

58 Photo of Bodhisattva padampani (6th C. A.D.) is attached herewith. It is lying in N. Museum, Delhi.
Avalokiteshwara, was a devotee of Buddha vairochna. His abode was Patalaka, a place somewhere in the South near Sridhanykataka. In karandavyuha 4th century A.D., Avalokiteshwara was glorified as the first god to issue out of the primordial Buddha (Adibuddha-Adinatha-vajra) and to create the universe (N. Dutt, The age of Imp. Kanauj, p. 261). Avalokiteshwara is a titulary deity of Tibet. At the end of the Tibetan Buddhist work 'kah-ghyur' are given several Dharnis (Anal. of Kah-ghyar, H.H. Wilson, JASB. 1832, p. 390). This gods' cult existed in India prior to 399 A.D. as Fa-hein when overtaken by a storm from Ceylon to China, prayed him. (Winternitz, H.I.L., p. 306). When magical elements became prominent in Buddhism. Avalokiteshwara adopted many characteristics of Siva (E. Conze, Buddhism, p. 147).

59 Tāra. is Buddhist goddess. She is identified by the Nepalese Buddhists with prajna-paramita. In Tibet she is believed to be the mother of all the past Thathagatas or Buddhas. According to the Northern school of Tantric Buddhism, she is the wife of all the present, past and future Buddhas. Her Tibetan name is Golma. A large number of stories attributed to her are regarded sacred (Nariman, Hist. of Skt. Budd., p. III).
Photo of Tāra of late Gupta period and style 9th or 10th century A.D. is attached herewith. At present it is lying in National Museum, N. Delhi.
A Kashmirian poet Sarvajñamitra composed a panegyry 'Araya-Tara-S agdharāstotra' on Tara in 8th century. It is in 37 strophas and is entirely in Kavya style. Sragdhara or the bearer of garland is the epithet of Tāra and is composed in the meter of the name (Nariman, Literary Hist. of Skt. Buddha, ch IX).
History of Buddhism in Kashmir, p. 121.

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The multiplication of Buddhist deities resulted in the decrease of sculptures bearing on the life of Buddha. In this respect Gupta Art differentiated itself from the Graeco-Buddhist Art of Gandhara which represented every possible incident in Buddha's life in stone while the earlier art of Barhut and Sanchi was inspired by Jatakas the Gupta art drew upon Brahmanical and other sources. Two beautiful examples of Budhisattva in Abhayamudra Aa 3 & Aa 4 at present lying in SPS Museum, Srinagar, clearly show that the icongraphical canons of the Hindus were adopted by Buddhists in the later stage of their struggle with Brahmanism. Mankuwar (Allahabad) stone image of Buddha, with an inscription dating 448-49 A.D., is a representation of the elder Kusana Art. It is heavy built and has shaven head. It is nearer to the Mathura tradition but has Sarnath drapery. This is different from contemporary trends which are more refined and subline examples of plastic centents.[60]

Hence Buddha is seen in Padamasana and is in Abhayamudra. The wheel or Dharamachakra is seen on the pedestal below.

Buddha's life in epitom stone sculptures of the 5th Century A.D. (depicted in figures 3 & 4), Bodhisattva's Marriage scene of the 2nd-4th Century A.D. (Plate 40) and the departure of the Master in the Gandhara art of 3rd-4th Century A.D. (Plate 53) are worth mentioning.[61] Mara's Army in Gandharya style of 3rt-4th Century A.D. (figure 72), at present in the Central Museum, Lahore, is based on Aṣvaghosa's discription in Buddhacharita.[62]

Buddha's message has been translated into stone in some of the beautiful examples of Gupta Sculpture: 2nd-4th century Gandharya style sculptures now at the Central Museum in Lahore and Indian Museum in Calcutta (Plate (4, 8) ; 3rd century stones depicting the visit of Buddha and Nanda to heaven (Plate 22), the 6th Century A.D. image of Rahula asking for his inheritance at Ajanta Cave XIX (Plate 25), the 5th Century Miracles of Sravasti (Buddha appearing in many forms reaching to heaven) at Indian Museum of Calcutta (Plate 30), and the 2nd-4th Century A.D. Amarapali's gift of mango grove

60 S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., p. 138 ; p. xxi. fig. 91 ; R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Empire, p. 142.

61 The way of Buddha, Sec. II, fig. II, fig. 3 & 53 are at present in Indian Museum Calcutta, fig. 4 is in National Museum, Delhi. For details please refer pp. 289-293.

62 The way of Buddha, p. 295; Buddhacharita, XIII. v. 17 ff.

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in Gandhara style also at Indian Museum (Plate 63).[63] Plate 64 depicting Buddha in meditation (4th century A.D.) ; plate 65 Buddha with large ornamented halo, showing unique fulness and dignity of form, and figure 67, showing Buddha in stone with half-closed eyes suggesting meditation (5th Century A.D.) at present in the Archaeological Museum at Sarnath are other beautiful examples of Buddhist Art of the Gupta period.[64]

Gupta periods' Buddha images, points out Vogel, exhibit a new and purely national development and represent a new type which artistically is infinitely superior to Kuṣana images.

The calm repose and mild serenity, the monastic robes marked in outlines, and the helo encircling the head of the master (prabhamandal which was completely forgotten in the Kuṣana period) which have been modified and introduced in Buddha's images, have eliminated the foreign influence on Buddhist-art.[65] Even the Gandhara Buddhas in stucco and clay of this period are profoundly Indianised and hardly show any foreign influence.[66]

**Popular Religious Sculptures**

Brahmanas policy of syncretistic assimilation shaped Hinduism in North first and from there it spread to South. Passionate devotion for Śiva and Vishnu was aroused by saints and different cult-pioneers. Despite tussles, Śiva and Vishdu were in accord and a large number of deities originated from Śiva's Shakti and Vishnu's Lakshmi. Both sects differed only in their imagery in Puranas.

**Siva**

God to the Śaivas is the great god Mahadeva, the creator Sadaśiva, the lord of the universe Jageśvara, the eternal Yogin: yogeśwara ; the supporter of the moon Somnath, Chandrashekhara and of milky way

63 The way of Buddha, Sec. III, pp. 297-306.
64 The way of Buddha, Section IV, pp. 307–12.
65 R.K. Mukerji, Gupta Empire, p. 142.
The Greek influence on Indian Art manifested itself in the Gandhara school of Art and it moved on from Taxila to Mathura and Sarnath. But before reaching Patliputra it completely disappeared in Gupta period and the Art became entirely and truly Indian. (Ev. of Ind. Cul., pp. 275–76).
66 V.S. Agrawala, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 448.

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Ganga dhara, the divine dancer (Natarāja), the victor over giants Tripurāntaka and over death (Mṛityaṁjaya) ; the gracious Śiva and terrible Bharva, the great Black god (Mahakal) ; and the lord of demons (Bhutnatha) etc. He is a great emancipator and beautiful husband Kalyana-Sundara of great goddess Mahadevi, Mahaśwari, the glorious Gauri, fire-faced Jwalamukhi, beautiful-eyed-Minakshi and Kamakshi ; the goddess of wealth Mahalakshmi, the mountain daughter Parvati, devoted wife Sati, virgin Kumari and Durga, mother Uma and Ambika, the great force (Mahaśakti) of creation—Maya, the great Yogini Yogeśwari, the terrible Bhairavi, Black-Kali, lady of death Chamunda, and desease Śitala. Their children are six headed Kartikeya (Skanda, Kumara, Viśakha, Subramanya) and elephant-headed Ganpati or Ganeśa, the lord of demons. They have a host of attendants Gandharvas, Risis, Gaṇās (demons) and yoginis (witches and dakins). This god (Śiva) has attributed much to the growth of iconography. In one aspect Śiva's abode is on Kailash mountain where he is surrounded by deities and minor gods and even Ravaṇa demon is his prisoner. Here Parvati worships him and undergoes severe penance to win his hand with the help of the god of love (Kama). Ultimately Śiva and Parvati are married. Their happy life, the game of chess, quarrels, and joint victories over demons are worth noting.

The other aspect of the pair reveals them naked smeared in funeral ashes, in matted hair, with skulls and snake-sloughs as their ornaments, dancing on corpses in drunken ecstasy to the tune of drums made of human skulls, drinking human blood and gnawing the human flesh from human limbs, in the company of demons, witches and skeletons among the fires of desolate cremation grounds. Here the devotees are free of terror because they know the deities inseparable aspects of Satva, Rajas and Tamas and of the two inseparable dharmas of creation and death. To them the pair is free from sexual aspects of male and female but is Ardhnarisvara, ultimately neither one nor other.[67]

67 H. Goetz, India, pp. 120-21. Kashmir S.P.S. museum has two unique Ardhnarishwar sculptures (a) Vishnu Laxmi and (b) Siva Parvati. Siva-Parvati photo discovered from Basoli in 1956-1957 (At present in Dorga Art Gallery Jammu) is attached herewith. Dr. P. Bannerji of National Museum, Delhi, assigns it 8th-9th century A.D. It is of late Gupta Style. Photo of Natraja from Nachanakuthar, 5th century A.D. is attached herewith. This is also National Museum

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All these aspects of Śiva are executed in sculpture, terracotta, painting, etc. The Śaiva contribution to Gupta art is very rich.

**Vishnu**

The *Vaishnava movement* was less revolutionary than Shaivite but it added to Gupta mythology imagery and iconography. It evolved the imagery of a god of glory in heaven; the creator lying on the snake of iternity, Narayana, Anantśeyin, lotus grew from his navel and produced Brahma (Padamanabha), the lord of paradise (Vaikunthnatha), the lord of the beauty and life (Śrinatha, Lakshminatha and Lakshmi Narayana), god with twenty-four divine forms (Keśava, Madhusudana, Damodra, Saṁkarshana, Vasudeva, Pradyumna, Anirudha, Puruśottama, Achyutta, Jnārdhana etc.), and god of many incarnation (Avatāras) forms including Bal-Krishna or Krishna son of Nanda and Yaśodha and hero of Mahabharata, Dwarkanatha (the lord of Dwarka), Pārthasarathi the chariot-driver of Arjuna and teacher of Bhagvat Geeta. Varaha and Nara Simha are also the Avatāras of Vishnu in Gupta-cults.[68]

**Siva-Sculpture**

The best examples of 6th century A.D. Śaiva theme are found in the temple of Bhitargaon in Kanpur District and Deogarh temple in Jhansi District. The former is profusely decorated with carved brickwork of brilliant terra-cotta panels. The latter has sculptured panels of very high standard. In Deogarh temple 'Śiva as Yogi' is a master piece of Indian Art according to V.A. Smith.

In Kosam (Allahabad) has been found Śiva-Parvati sculptured piece of high artistic beauty with inscription dating 458 A.D. A linga bearing the faces of Brahma, Vishnu, Śiva and Surya, and the sculptured images of 'Śiva and Parvati' depicting their marriage have been found at Kaman (Ajmer).[69]

Delhi's collection.

A bronze image photo (10th C. A.D.) of lord Śiva carrying the body of Sati is attached herewith.

68 H. Goetz, India, p. 121.

Photo of Vishnu Image (E. 6) of 5th century A.D. is attached herewith. It is National Museum Delhi's collection.

Two photos of Anantśyam and Padamanabha from Billawar and Udhampur (Devaka) from Jammu region are attached herewith.

69 R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Emp., pp. 143–44.

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Ekamukha lingas of 5th century discovered at Khoh Bhita (in Allahabad)[70] and cave temple (No. 4) of Udaigiri (Madhya Pradesh)[71] are masterpieces not to be ignored.

According to S.K. Saraswati, the image of Kartikeya in Bharat Kala Bhavan[72] at Benaras Hindu University, and the head of Śiva or Lokeśvara[73] in Sarnath museum, though representations of Sarnath idiom, are plastically heavier and spiritually inferior in artistic value.

**Sculpture in Caves**

In the rock-cut 6th century temple at Ellora,[74] the austerities of Parvati are depicted on pillars. The goddess is standing motionless, counting rosary and holding a casket. She is surrounded by the four fires and the fifth sun. She is so much absorbed in her austerities to win Siva as her husband that she is shown taking no notice of a beggar who approaches her. Her meditation is disturbed only when the beggar boy is seized by a monster (Makar) in the nearby pond where he had gone to fetch water. The beggar boy is Śiva.

Similarly, very beautiful examples of rock-cut Mahadeva, Śiva Tandava and marriage of Śiva Parvati, (6th or 7th Century A.D.) are found in the Elephanta[75] (Bombay) cave.

As Gupta period has seen the synthesis of different cults and Śiva was a very popular god, the 7th Century A.D. Śiva Vriṣavahana's

70 C. Sivaramamurti, India Sculpture, p. 53.
S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., fig. 95.
Khoh is in Nagod in Madhyapradesha. (S.K. Saraswati, p. 137). Ek-Mukh linga from Khoh, Apsaras from Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh) and ganga from Besnagar at present in Bostan Museum (USA), and sculpture of Siva temple at Bhumara (Nagod, Madhya Pradesh), depict the Sarnath idiom. (S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., p. 137.

In khoh-mukhalinga, the sexual member of the god has disappeared and the "bust of the god who is origin, essence of the world, half-ascetic, half king, noble majestic, inexorable and yet mild, sunk in deep meditation, the great Yogi, whose very dreams are the stuff of this universe", has come up.
(H. Goetz, India, p. 108).

71 Stella K., Art of India, p. 46.
Ak mukh Sivalinga from Khoh is attached herewith. It is lying in National Museum, N. Delhi at present.

72 S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., fig. 93.

73 S K. Saraswati, S.I.S., fig. 96, & p. 137.

74 Stella K., Art of India, pl. 98, p. 216.

75 Stella K., Plates No. 99, 100-102, 103.

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image in the walls of Durga Temple and the Kinnera-couple on the ceiling of the hall in the rock-cut Śiva temple at Aihole are worth noting.[76]

**Vishnu Sculpture**

The early emages of Vishnu or Vasudeva resemble the images of the Yakśas of the Buddhist pantheon, but the iconography differs. The conch, the disc, the mace, and the lotus signify treasure or prosperity, universality or power divine purity, and strength respectively. The Abhaya or varada mudras signify the iconography of a beneficient god. The Naga cult indeniably contributed the Śesa-Narayana or Balarama iconography. The early Vishnu images were two-handed according to early texts. The later texts on iconography acknowledge twenty-four varieties of standing Vishnu images recognised as twenty four different visible forms of Vishnu.[77]

Vishnu on his Vahana Garuḍa was known in Mahabharata time and his images were also worshipped though not so commonly in the standing forms.[78] The Gupta temple at Deogarh has one seated image of Vishnu of which only the left side has survived. Another image of Vishnu from Karivarada relief at Deogarh represents him mounted on a Garuḍa, which is in human form except for the wings. The god is holding a mace in his lower right hand and is supporting his lower left hand on his knees. The two upper-hands are mutilated.[79]

*Vishnu und Sesha* are together represented in the images of Śeshasayi. Standing and sitting images of Vishnu under the serpent-hood, though not described in the texts of iconography, are known. At the Gupta temple in Deogarh has survived a four-armed bust of Vishnu under the canopy of serpent-hood ; of four hands only the upper-hand holding the disc has remained intact.[80]

76 Stella K., pl. Nos. 61, 59.

77 K. Desai, Iconography of Vishnu, pp. 6-10 twenty-four forms seems to have been known since Mahabharata, (XII, 291, 37-38). According to Sankhya system the universe is made up of twenty-four elements (*Ibid.*, p. 10).

78 K. Desai, Icono. of Vishnu, p. 16.

79 K. Desai, Icono. of Vishnu, p. 17.
Vats M.S., Gupta temple at Deogarh, MASR I, No. 70, pl. Xa.

80 K. Desai, Icono. of Vishnu, fig. 18, Viṣnu under serpent-hood 5th century A.D. M.A.S.R. I, No. 70, Pl. X(b).

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One four-armed Vishnu on a square-slab (C. 5th Century A.D.), with serpent-hood and holding the usual emblems of Vishnu, is lying in Allahabad museum (No. 259). Though much multilated it depicts the important insignia.[81]

**Jalasayi Vishnu**

Devatamurtiprakaraṇa gives a detailed account of the god to be carved reclining on the coils of Sesha amidst waters. The South Indian texts divide such images in Yoga, Bhoga, Vira and Abhicaraka. Yogamurti is to be two-handed, with the right hand is placed near the pillow and the other is in Kathaka pose. It is to have Bhṛgu and Markandeya at the side, Madhu and Kaitabh demons near the feet and the lotus issuing from his navel should be Brahma. The back of the image is to have sculptured Āyudha-puruṣas, Garuḍa, Viśvakarma and Seven Ṛsis all in Anjali-mudra. The Bhoga-sayana's murti is to have four-hands, two as in Yoga-Sayana, but nothing is said about other hands and Lakshmi is to be seated near his head holding a lotus in her right hand and Bhumadevi should be shampooing his left foot.[82]

*Deogarh temple* of Gupta period (5th century A.D.) has śesashayi Vishnu on the door-frame.[83]

"Vishnu reclines on a bed of serpent coils, the seven heads of the serpent forming a halo around his crowned head. His hands are without attributes and are at rest ; they touch his own body and the serpent. The goddess Lakshmi supports and massages his right foot,

81 K. Desai, Icono. of Vishnu, p. 23.

82 K. Desai, Icono. of Vishnu, pp. 26-27.

83 S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., pp. 138-39 and fig. 112.
K. Desai Icono. of Vishnu, fig. 21.
Stella K., plates 51, 52 (dates early 6th century A.D.) Deogarh is in Jhansi District of U.P. The classical style developed first in the days of Chandragupta II at Ujjain in 5th century A.D. In the reigns of Chandra Gupta I and Samudra Gupta somewhat harsh imitations of Mathura school prevailed. e.g. Mankuwar Buddha, Kartikeya in Benaras Museum, and Samudra Gupta's horse at Lucknow. Similarly their gold coins which were first inspired by Kushana-Roman models, evolved a new design (H. Goetz, India, p. 105).
Mahabharata has referred to Vishnu associated with serpent Śesa, in the concept of Narayana, as the lord of waters. Śanti-parba describes Vishnu reclining on the coils of serpent. (Mhb. III 194, 8-15 : XII 47, 48) C. Sivarama-murti, M.I.S., p. 2.

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the sun bird Garuḍa, in human shape, and another goddess (Gandhari) complete the group filling the middle zone of the panel."

"Above in the centre, Brahma is enthroned on a lotus whose stalk that has sprouted from Vishnu's navel, the gods Kartikeya and Indra are on his right, Śiva-Parvati and the Maruts on his left."

"The low part of the panel (carved on separate slab) shows the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, who were to be slain by Vishnu. The four remaining figures are personifications of the potency of Viṣnu's four hands."

"The niche is *ghanadvara* or solid door through which the divinity enshrined in the temple manifests itself in some of the major aspects."[84]

The figure of Vishnu (Anantasayin) is an example of heavier modelling and rather of hardened outlines. "A stupor seems to have overtaken the Gupta classical ideal."[85]

Udaigiri cave No. 14 represents another contemporary example of Vishnu Seshasayin of the above described composition. Here Vishnu is flatly lying on the bed of serpent coils. His three hands are broken and he is resting his head on the fourth hand. On the top of the panel are Garuḍa, Ayudha puruṣas and demons.[86]

One of the cave temples in Udaigiri hills bears an inscription of 401 A.D. It has some fine sculptures representing Varaha as the incarnation of Vishnu.[87] It also has Ganga and Yamuna standing on

84 Stella K., Art of India, fig. 51 is the description of plate 48 projection of South face of Viṣnu temple, Deogarh, p. 202.
Sesasayi-Narayana-Viṣnu is the name of this type of composition. It shows supreme Viṣnu and Brahma in his creation. (Stella K., Art of India, p. 202 details I plate 51).

85 S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., p. 139.
With the decline of Gupta Empire the serenity in sculpture disappeared. The sculptures of 6th Century are charged with heavier-bodies and visionary mysticism behind the outward display of superhuman energy. In 7th century A.D. Sculpture again became light and elegant but lacking in internal structure and expression. (H. Goetz, India, p. 108).

86 K. Desai, Icono. of Vishnu, p. 26.
Annual administration report of the Arch. Department Gwalior state, 1932-33, Pl. VI.a.

87 R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Empire, p. 141 ; S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., p. 130, fig. 111. Viṣnu is rescuing the earth goddess from the primeval waters. The Carving shares plastic qualities of the Malwa idiom swayed by the Gupta.
"...The Varah relief, in its tough and slow plasticity, heaving with the very breath of creative earth belong to the same mentality which had been at work at Bhaja aud now marks the rock with the more differentiated impress of a later age, while currents from Sarnath etc. touched upon the sculpture of Cen-

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Makara and Kachchhapa. In its vicinity at a place called Pathari, there is a massive relief on the "nativity of Krishna, showing the new born babe by the side of the mother watched by five attendents." It is considered to be the finest and largest sculptures of Beglar.[88]

At Mandsor near Jodhpur a fragmentary sculpture of the 4th Century A.D. has been found. It depicts Krishna scenes including the raising of Mount Govardhana.[89]

Other Seshasayi images of Vishnu are at Rajivalochana temple at Rajim (6th Century A.D.), at Mathura Museum (7th and 8th Century A.D.), at Jagannathji temple near Dilwara (9th Century A.D.) and intricately carved figures from Badoli, Baijnath, Lucknow and Kotah museums.[90]

The top doorway at Dasavatar temple in Deogarh depicts *Vishnu seated on the coils of serpent* and canopied by the seven hoods. He has disc in his upper hand, the lower right hand is in Abhyamudra and he has the conch in another hand. His left leg is hanging down and is being shampooed by Laksmi, who is sitting on the ground. On the right side of the main figure is perhaps Vamana Avatara and to the left is Nṛsimha Avatara. Both are paying respects to Vishnu.[91]

The basement of the Daśavatar temple is embellished with sculptured friezes depicting scenes from Ramayana. The walls of the temple has alto-relievo sculptures in niches. They are governed by the discipline and manner of age and reflect the impact of Gupta

tral India, the connectedness with the tradition of the Dakkhan matters more at this phase". Stella K., Indian sculpture, p. 68. This Varah's lower body is of a man and head is of a boar. One such figure is kept in Badoh Daşavatār temple belonging to early 5th Century A.D. (K. Desai, Inoco. of Vishnu, fig. 59).

88 R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Empire, pp. 141-42. Allahabad Museum and National Museum Delhi possess fine Ganga and Yamuna sculpture pieces belonging to the period under reference. "Bharaśivas had adopted Ganga and Yamuna as symbols of freed Aryavarta, and rightly hooded Nagas were put over the figures of the river goddesses, translating politics into the language of the Chisel. The Guptaś duly took over those motifs though they removed the Nagas from their heads". (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 206-7.

89 R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Empire, p. 142.

90 K. Desai, Icono. of Vişnu, pp. 27 ff.

91 K. Desai, Icono. of Vişnu, p. 26.
Stella K., The Art of India, p. 202. The Avtaras of Vişnu and Matsya, Kurma, Varaha, Nṛsimha, Vamana-trivikrama, Parśurāma, Rama, Krishna-Balrama,

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classical tradition.[92]

The Nar-Narayana sculpture in the temple breathes the classicism of Sarnath. These two figures "with their elongated and flowing centorus have rarified modelling and attitude of experience recorded at Sarnath."[93]

*Krishna* : The Daśavatar temple[94] depicts many scenes of the Krishna incarnation of Vishnu, e.g., Devaki handing over the child to a male, evidently Vasudeva and Vasudeva fondling the child.

*Ram-Lakshmana and Sita* : Daśavatar temple also has panels showing Rama, Lakshmana and Sita going in the forest during the exile. Rama and Lakshmana are holding bows in their hands.[95]

*Lakshmana Mutilating Srupankha* : The temple has also a panel, Lakshmana holding Srupanakha by her hair and one of his hands armed with sword is raised as though to hit her. She is shown in terror, with one of her hands on the breasts.[96]

Hayagriva, Nara-Narayana, Kalki (the future incarnation of Kali age) and Buddha, which was added after Gupta period (K. Desai, Icono. of Viṣnu, pp. 80, 62, 72, 84, 97, 112, 121, 24, 142, 145, 141.

92 S.K. Saraswati, S.I.S., pp. 138-9.

93 S.K. Saraswati, S,I.S., p. 139 fig. 120.
S.K. Desai, Icono. of Viṣnu, fig. 104.

94 K. Desai, Icono. of Viṣnu, p. 124, fig, 86. The photo of Devaki (5th century A.D.) handing over the child is attached herewith. It is lying in National Museum, N. Delhi at present. It is from Deogara (U.P.) mother and child theme is very important and the event of birth is v. great in Indian tradition. It has resulted in recording this event not only in literature but in sculpture also Buddha's birth scenes, Krishna's handing over to Vasudeva, and Harishcharita's description of queen Yaśomati's case are conspicuous. Gwalior museum has preserved very beautiful sculptured piece of mother and child, belonging to 6th century A.D. (C. Sivarammurti, p. 152, fig. 112).
The ruins of Deogarh temple depicting various scences from Ramayana, Puranas etc. have reached a standard previously unattained. "The clumsy coarseness is the Mathura sculpture of the Kushana period has vanished and Hellenistic influence inherited from Gandhara has been completely absorbed". (H.G. Rawlinson, Indian Art, p. 20).

95 K. Desai, Icono. of Viṣnu, p. 117.
Rama was first portrayed as an ideal son, husband and king and was later on deified and accepted incarnation of Viṣnu. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

96 Photo attached. It is at present lying in National Museum, N. Delhi. (51.178) and belongs to 5th century A.D.

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*Surya Sculpture* : Sun is worshiped from Ṛgvedic times, as a nature's god. Later on images of sun were sculptured. The famous example of sun sculpture is found in Bhuma temple. Surya is dressed like the famous Kaniska statue at Mathura. He is not shown there with horses but seven horses appear in the sculpture of Kaman (Ajmer).[97]

*Composite images* : The most important feature of this art is composite images. The idea is rooted in the tendency of the Hindus to revere all the gods as of equal importance. Traces of it are found from the days of Mahabharata[98] where Arjuna addresses a hymn to Śiva and there is a mention of the composite form of iva with Hari as Hari-Rudra. In Matsya Purana[99] the image's left side is occupied by Vishnu (Mādhava) and the right side by Śiva. Devatamurtiprakarana[100] gives the description of Śiva-Narayana images.

97 R.K. Mukerji, The Gupta Empire, p. 142. Ten hymns are addressed to Surya in Ṛgveda.

98 Mhb. III. 40, 57.

99 Matsya Pu., 260, 22–27 gives the same idea

वामार्धे माधवं विद्यात् दक्षिणे शूलपाणिनाम् ।
बाहुच्दयञ्च कृष्णस्य मणिकेयूरभूषितम् ।।
शंखचक्रधरं शान्तमारक्तांगुलीविप्रभम् ।
चक्रस्थाने गदां वापि पाणौदद्यात् गदाभृतः ।।
शंख श्रचैवेक्षरे दधात्कटयर्धः भूष्णोज्जवलम् ।
पीतवस्त्रपरिधानं चरणं मणिभूषितम् ।।
भुजंग हारवलयं वरदं दक्षिणं करम् ।
व्यालोपवति संयुक्तं कटयर्धं कृत्रिवाससम् ।।
मणिरत्नैश्च संयुक्तं पाद् नागोविभूषितम् ।
शिवनारायण स्यैव कल्पद द्रूयमुत्तमम् ।।

100 Devatamurtiprakrana. vi, 35–41
Surprisingly enough Harihara image is described separately though it does not differ much from Siv-Narayana image (*Ibid.* VI 56-57)

कार्यो हरिहरश्चापि (स्यापि) दक्षिणार्धे सदाशिवः ।
वामार्धे च हृषिकेज्ञः श्वेतनीलाकृतिः क्रमात् ।।
वरं त्रिशूलं चक्रा ब्जधारिणो वाहवः क्रमात् ।
दक्षिणः वृषभः पार्श्ववामे विहगरुड़िति ।।

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The earliest composite images of Harihara belong to Kuṣana period and are lying in Mathura museum (No. 1333 and 1336). They were discovered at Girdharpur Tilla (Mathura). These have two heads, with upper portion divided into two halves, the right side Jatamukta represents Siva and the left side *mukuta* represents Vishnu.[101]

One fifth Century image depicting Varaha, Vishnu, Vamana and Harihara on the four sides is preserved at the Allahabad museum (No. 292). The image is quite worn out but the emblems of the gods Jatabhara and Kaupina of Śiva Mukuta and Pitambara of Vishnu as well as disc, mace and conchshell in the hands of Vishnu, *Trisula* in the right side personified form and Cakra on the ayudha Puruṣa in the left side are clearly visible indicating it to be a Harihara image.[102]

A Chaturmurti[103] of the 4th Century A.D. and a Vishnu-rupa Vishnu[104] of 6th Century A.D. depicting a large number of Devis and Devatas as well as Vishnu Avataras lying in Mathura museum are worth noting.

A beautiful specimen of such Gupta art is Harihara now in Patna museum. As usual the right side represents Hara and left Hari. Śiva is holding a trident and rosary and the end of the trident is resting on the head of a squatting figure evidently representing Trisula Puruṣa. Vishnu is holding the Conchshell in his lower hand and the upper hand is resting on the head of a figure, probably Chakra-puruṣa.[105]

A large number of fish incarnation of Vishnu (Matsya Avtar) belonging to the post-Gupta period are available.[106] Most interesting

101 Diskalkar, D.B., Some Brahmanical sculptures in Mathura museum, J.U.P.H.S. Vol. I, Part I, Jan. 1932, p. 44, pl. 18.
K. Desai, Icono. of Viṣnu, ft. n. 6, p. 60.

102 K. Desai, Icono. of Viṣnu, p. 52.

103 K. Desai, Icono. of Viṣnu, fig. 31.

104 *Ibid.*, fig. 41.

105 K. Desai, Icono. of Viṣnu, pp. 52-3, fig. 45.

106 K. Desai, Icono. of Viṣnu, p. 63.
A pillar from Sarnath contains a fish-god with two tails. It is a human-form having a fish for the lower part of the body. (Marshall and Konow, Excavations at Sarnath. ASIAR, 1907-8, p. 70, pl. xx.

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image of Matsya from Bajrayogini is described by R.D. Banerji[107] wherein, the bust of the four-armed Vishnu issues out of the neck of the fish enthroned on a lotus. The main figure is flanked by Lakshmi and Saraswati. They are placed on two small lotuses springing from the main lotus stalk. The pedestal has a small figure of Garuḍa with devotees on both left and right.

*Ardhanari-Nateswara* or Ardh-nariśwara, representations of half Śiva and half Parvati on his right are referred to by Kalidasa and its images are found in quite large numbers among those of other gods of the Hindu pantheon of the Gupta times.[108]

Later on instead of just two gods in one image, an attempt was made to synthesize three or four or even more gods in one image. These include the images of Surya-Narayana, trinity of gods (Brahma, Vishnu, Mahesh) and sometimes of four gods in one. Sikar Museum preserves one three faced standing image, four pair of arms and four Vahanas : Goose and horse on left side and Nandi and Garuḍa on the other side indicating the presence of four deities. The lower-most pair of hands to the right holds a rosary and is in Varadmudra, while the left hand has a Kamandalu in it. The second pair holds the lotus, the symbol of Surya in each hand. The third pair of hands holds disc and conchshell for Vishnu and the fourth with trident and snake signifies Śiva.[109]

107 Banerji, R.D., A.S.I.A.R., 1924-25, p. 154, pl.x L.b.

108 Raghu. I. i. etc.
Meg. p. 36.
The idea of half-man and half-woman is found even in Upanishads. One of the Upaniṣad narrates that the supreme being desirous of creating man split himself into two. This became male and female (Kama Kalpa, p. 112). Śiva Purana writes that Śiva split Śakti the energetic power from his body, at the request of Brahma for the creation of Universe (Please refer to Ch. on Religion of this work).

109 R.C. Agarwal, Sikar Marg, Vol. XII March 1950, Pl. 71.
S.K. Saraswati, Icono. of Viṣnu, fig. 119 (Trinity of god) Chaturmukh-Surya of 6th century from Java, now kept in Delhi Museum is a beautiful example of synthesis. It depicts Sun, Viṣnu, Śiva and Brahma, fig. 60. (C. Sivarammurti, S.A.I.C., pp. 67–8).
Chaturmukh-linga sculpture of 8th century of Nachana-Kuthara (Madhya Pradesh) is famous. Stella K., The Art of India, fig. 108.
Three-headed Vishnu of Gupta Idiom (Dogra Art gallery Jammu's Collection) is attached herewith. Dr. P. Bannerji of National Museum, Delhi assigns it 8th-9th century A.D. It was discovered in 1949 from Akhnoor.

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Varaha with four hands holding the insignia of Vishnu is the development of later Gupta period. No iconographic text describe Varaha with four hands. If only Matsya Purana's pada 30a is read 'tasa' instead of 'Tasyah' four hands would be indicated.[110]

One very peculiar example of perhaps fifth century is huge figure of Varaha with figures of Risis and deities carved on its body. Goddess earth is shown hanging on one side of his neck.[111]

**Contemporaneous Sculpture**

One of the panels in Elephanta Cave represents the motiff of three faced Brahma riding on a flight of Śwans. This is based upon Bana's pen-picture in Harshcharita and is Vakataka masterpiece[112] belonging to the 6th centuıy A.D.

In the central hall a three faced Śiva represents the benign terrific and faminine aspects combined. The dvarapalas near it resemble closely the figures at Ellora.[113]

*Ajanta Caves* have some great sculptures of 5th and 6th century A.D. The famous among them are the carvings of Mithunas on either side of doer jambs of the shrine. The figures of Ganga and Yamuna at the top instead of at the bottom representing the early tradition (like Udayigiri in Bhilsa) Nagarajas as guards, the quaint dwarf figures and the calestial Vidyadhara couples etc. Cave xix (pl. 15) of Ajanta depict the Nāgaraja and Nagini with attendants, cave I the first sermon at Mrigdeva and cave xxvi the huge parinirvaṇa scene. They are the masterpieces.[114]

**Aurangabad Sculpture** (7th Century A.D.)

Aurangabad sculpture excels in larger figure-carving and some of them are of an unusual kind. Vihara No. three's shrine presents

110 K. Desai, Icono. of Vishnu, p. 75.

111 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

112 C. Sivaramamurti, Indian sculpture, p.58, fig.10. Vakatakas were matrimonially related to Guptas. They were great patrons of literature and Art. The Vakataka Art contempornaeous with the Gupta Art in the North can be seen in the later Caves of Ajanta and early ones at Ellora and Aurangabad. Elephanta (7th century A.D.) caves are also akin to other Vakataka masterpieces (*Ibid.*, pp. 56-58).

113 C. Sivaramamurti, Ind. Scul., p. 58.

114 C. Sivaramamurti, Indian-Sculpture, p. 57.

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most striking productions. Here two groups of figures, almost life-size and of surpassing interest. "Each group consist of a number of votaries, kneeling in devout adoration before a colossal statue of the Buddha on the throne. There are both males and females, some offering garlands, other with clasped hands, and all displaying a touching eagerness in their attitude and expression In the garments, head dress and ornaments, and also in their physical appearance, they present a living picture of the people of the period. But they imply much more than a scene of every day life of seventh century. These groups of statuary show that when the sculptors were able to break away from their endless reproductions of the conventional and stylised images of the deities, they could depict the human form in its most life-like manner, realistically posed and naturally modelled. It is evident that genuine artistic expression was unduly restrained by the exacting condition of the existing beliefs".[115]

**Music and Dance in Sculpture**

Gupta Emperors encouraged all the lalitakalas. Dance was taught, practised and enjoyed. The early Ellora caves represent Chatura, Lalita, Katisama and other models of Śiva's dance.[116]

"The musical scene in Aurangabad cave showing a bevy of female musicians and dancers, exquisitely wrought by the Vakataka sculptors, with the full gamut of musical orchestra presented, is another masterpiece."[117]

Dancers are seen in the reliefs of Barhut and Sanchi, on the painted walls of Ajanta and at Amaravati. Dance seems to be a form of worship. This is clear from the expression of devotion on the facts of dancers.

C. Sivaramamurti has compared beautifully 2nd, 5th and 7th century sculpture poses and depicted the affinity and evolution of Indian Art in this field.[118]

Śiva as Nataraja, the lord of dance, is represented in various

115 P. Brown, I.A., p. 74.

116 C. Sivaramamurti, Ind. Scul., p. 57.
Siva is conceived as the highest natyacharya and composer of seven musical notes (being fond of musical chant of Samvad). Kalidasa puts it as his glory being sung in seven samans, "Saptasamopagitam tvam." (*Ibid.*), p. 38).

117 C. Sivaramamurti Indian Scul., p. 58.

118 C. Sivaramamurti, Indian Scul., p. 60 fig. II.

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dances, at Ellora and Elephanta and in the bronzes of South India. Some of the bronzes are superb expressions of the rhythm of dance.[119]

**Painting**

The Art of painting reached a high standard during Gupta period. Kalidasa, Bana, Dandin and other Sanskrit writers refer to this art in general. Kalidasa has painted his works in Utpreksasa and similies. But this meter and word paintings are also not free from necessary good qualities of a picture according to texts. To quote Dr. Raghavan's comments on Kumarasambhava's[120] lines "Her body in girlhood was like an unfinished picture which when worked out with fine brush, attained the waken state as it were from the sleeping or blind stats". The word 'विभक्त' denotes the effect of light shade, which is compulsorily good quality of a good picture according to Vishnudharmottara.[121]

The reference to Chitrasala[122] or picture-houses or painters and paintings in geneal by Kalidasa in Malavikaginimitra, tell us that the hall of painting (Chitrasala) formed a part of Sangitasala where music, dancing and stage acting was taught. Here pictures were hung and numerous new paintings were done. Queen Dhariṇi visited such an art gallery and approciated the still wet (newly done) painting.[123] There seem to have been royal as well as private picture houses. In the former, incidents from royal life were given importance, while his the latter life in general seem to have been depicted.[124]

119 Radhakrishnan, S. Hindu Art, p. 187.

120 'उन्मीलितं' तुलिकयेव चित्रं
वपुविभक्त नवयौवनेन । (Kum.)

121 "स्थानं प्रमाणभूलम्बो मधुरत्वं विभक्तता"
(Vishnudharmottra)
Vishnudharmotta is the principal source of understanding the aesthetic value of Indian painting. It differentiates between the 'true', 'lyrical' and secular painting. It classifies the types of paintings in temples, palaces and private dwellings. (H. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 145).

122 Mal., p. 11 : चित्रशाला, चित्रलेखामाचार्य, चित्रे (चित्ते)।
Bhavabhuti refers to Chitracaryas in Uttar Ramchrittar also. Please refer to Chs. II & VI of this work.

123 Māl., pp. 11–12.

124 Māl., Raghuvaṃśa and Meghdutta mention about (a) Royal Art gallery (b) Public Art gallery and Private picture-houses.

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**Portrait Painting**

In Sanskrit dramas and romances portrait painting appears as a diversion for the love-sick party or as a means of uniting the objects of love.[125] Bhavagamya portraits of Yaksa and Yaksini are referred to in Meghaduta and Śakuntla and her companion Dusyanta in Abhijnansakuntlam. The latter refers to the high level of realism achieved during the time.[126] The portraits of Agnimitra, in different postures, adored all sides of the hall of Samudragraha.[127] To quote Sivaramamurti[128]: "From Chitrasala decoration of houses with picture-portraits and imaginary pictures (paintings) drawn on Board and paintings of Creepers on the human body, the colour decorations of the elephant, down to the comparatively insignificant border decoration of garments, there was nothing trivial, as not to give scope for the time for this boble art. It was not the professional artist that was the only store-house of this knowledge. Painting was a part of the polite education of the day and was freely practised by both sexes. Portrait painting appears to have been very popular, memory and imagination were also given stimulus by painters by painting being executed even in the absence of models. The latter Kalidasa styles as Bhavagamya Chitra."

Like portrait painting, group painting also seem to have reached a high stage. Śakuntla with her friends stands in a group portrait, with her hair-knots loosened and flowers stuck in the hair falling. Even the drops of perspiration are seen on her face.[129] Similarly a group

125 Megh. U., v. 25 मत्सादृश्य विरहतनु वा भावगन्य लिखन्ति ।

126 Megh. V., 25 अहो राजर्षेर्वर्तिका निपुणता ।
जाने मे सखी अग्रतो वर्तते इति । (Sak. IV)

127 Māl.

128 Kalidasa and painting, vide JOR, Madras, Vol. III, 1933.
Megh. U., v. I. सचित्रा प्रसादा; Meg . V., v 25.
Elephants painted; मत्सदृश्य लिखन्ति Megh. P., v. 19.
Māl., p. 11 portrait painting by both sexes ;
Megh. U., v 25, Imagination and memory portraits, भावगम्य लिखन्ति ।

129 तिस्नस्तत्र भुवत्यो दृष्यन्ते । Sak., pp. 209–10.
सर्वाश्च दर्शनीया, *Ibid.*, p. 209.
सख्यविति, pp. 209-110.

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portrait depicts Malavika close to the queen surrounded by attendents.[130]

**Frescoes**

Kalidasa has made numerous references to mural-paintings in residential houses,[131] which were blurred by the clouds entering through windows. The poet seems to have cave paintings in his mind. It is just possible that he had visited Ajanta caves which were painted before his time and were being painted in his time as well.

**Ajanta Caves**

The remarkable revival of painting can be seen in Ajanta Caves.[132] The wall paintings of Ajanta are usually associated with classical

130 चित्रगताया, आसन्तदारिका,
अपूर्वेयं...अलिखिता ; Māl.. p. 11.

131 सद्मसु चित्रवस्तु Raghu. XIV. 15, 25 ; सचित्रा : प्रसादा, Megh. U., 8.
द्वारो पान्तो लिखित वपुषों शंख पद्मौ च दृष्टवा, Megh. U., 20.
Reghu. XVI. 16.
Meg. U., 15. सुरपति धनुश्चरूणा तोरणेन । The noet compares his house's door with rainbow.
The idea of colours easily spoiled by water is found in Sakuntla and Bana's Kadambari.
स्विन्नालिविनि वेशो रेखाप्रान्तेषु दृष्यते मलिनः ।
अश्रु च कपोल पतितं लक्ष्यमिद वर्तिकोच्छ्वासात् ।। (Sak)
अंगली गलित स्वेद परामर्श भीतेव ।
चिन्तया लिलेखे, न चित्र तुलिकया ।। (Kadambari)

132 The Ajanta caves were discovered in 1819 accidentally by hunting and shooting party. Though discovered after a thousand years, they are practically intact (H. Goetz, India, p. 98), Six Fine Arts, p. 166 ; M. Singh, Cave paintings of Ajanta, p. 22).
Ajanta is near a small village called Faridpur in Maharashtra, 30miles from Jalgaon. There are 30 caves and are in horse-shoe shaped hill, carved in the almost perpendicular cliff of solid rock. A narrow path leads to the thresh hold of cave I "marking the beginning of the end of a tradition, the highest achievement of Buddhist Art of India". M. Singh, Cave P.I., p. 23.

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traditions of the Gupta age.[133] They are frescoes and have surviving only in six caves I, II, IX, X, XX & XVII.

**Group of Periods**

Percy Brown has classified the Fresco-paintings of Ajanta into four periods (i) Caves IX-X (C. 100 A.D.),(ii) pillar in Cave X (C. 350 A.D.) (iii) Caves XVI & XVII (C. A,D. 500)and (iv) Caves I & II (C. 626-628 A.D.).[134] All the thirty caves bear the marks of having originally being decorated with paintings, but the passage of time has obliterated a large portion of them.[135]

Caves XVI & XVII are magnificent Viharas. From the Architectural point of view, they are perhaps the best specimens of the Gupta Art. Both these caves contain inscriptions and refer to Harisena, the Vakataka king (465 500 A.D.). The inscriptions say that Cave XVI was dedicated by Harisena's minister Varahadeva while Cave XVII was cut during the same period by the minister of a ruler who was subordinate to Harisena.[136]

133 Chandragupta II(in 380 (A.D.)gave his daughter Prabhavati Gupta in marriage to Vakataka Rudrasena II. He accepted Vaishnavism, the faith of the Guptas. This alliance helped Guptas to defeat Sakas in 400-410 A.D. Harisena of collateral branch, who had arisen in power in 475 A.D., died in 510 A.D. The power and prestige of Vakataka Empire extended practically over the whole of Deccan by this time. Ajanta thus came in contact with Bodh Gaya, Taxila and Mathura. Thus the influence of Mathura Craftsman appears to have been the greatest on Ajanta (M. Singh, the Cave paintings of Ajanta, pp. 95–99).

Cave No. XV was constructed between 400-440 A.D. (Percy Brown, p. 243). The remains of Gupta, post Gupta, or early Chalukya wall-paintings exist at Ajanta(Cave I,II, XVI, XVII & XIX), at Bagh, in the Gupta caves at Badama and in Jain sanctuary at Sitanavasal near Tanjore (B. Rowland, A.A.I., p.145).

134 Percy Brown, Indian paintings, p. 30; M. Singh, cave paintings of Ajanta vide notes on every painted-plate-photograph.

135 Six Fine Arts, p. 166. It adds that in 1910, out of 16 caves thus embellished only 6 had fresco paintings. They were 1, 2, 9, 10, 16, & 17 numbered caves.

Ajanta paintings depict a lot of religious Romanticism of a really lyric quality (B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 146).

136 P. Brown, p. 243.

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**Ajanta Themes of Paintings**

The Ajanta paintings can be divided into three kinds[137]: decorations, portraiture and narration. (1) The decorative designs include graceful figures of fabulous creatures and mythological beings; garuḍas, Yaksas, Gandharvas and Apsaras.

(2) Portraits have central figures of Buddhists and Bodhisattvas. The great Bodhisattva Padampani Avalokiteshvara in Cave I shows the highest attainment figure painting.

(3) The narration scenes are from Jatakas which were popularised by sculptors.

Thus generally Ajanta paintings are associated with Buddha or Buddhist folk-lore or Jataka tales.

There are a few palace scenes,[138] historical[139] scenes and Court scenes[140] also. According to Vinaya, Buddha did not approve of the painting done by six monks showing men and women, designed like householders who enjoy pleasures of senses in a dwelling place. He after the serman advised monks to adhere only to wreathwork, creeper-work, sword-fish teeth and the five strips of cloth design. For a long time, Buddhists adhered to the advise of Buddha. But self-denial was too abstract a concept to survive even among the monks or to be accepted by the laity, who were all steeped in the popular folk-lore of the common people. The need for a representational art, thus grew originally from the spread of the order and Buddhist puritanism gave way step by step to popular taste.[141]

As regards the technical skill, aesthetic sense and value of

137 Dr. V.S. Agarwal, Vak.Gupta Age, pp. 463-66, Cave II(7), Yaksas & Yaksinis, (27) Nagas mythological beings, (15) Floral and other designs; Cave XVII Jataka-scenes and (32) Yaksa or Royal guard.

138 Six fine Arts, p. 67. ff.
Cave I (2) A lady reclining on a couch ; (7) Dancing girls; (9) Raja going out on a horse back ; (20) unidentified palace scene.
Cave II (24) A lady kneeling at the feet of Raja in an angry mood ; (23) A palace scene; Cave XVI (14) Palace scene.
Six fine arts, p. 167 ff.

139 Cave XVI. (8) The dying princess, the deserted wife of Nanda ; (12) Scene of king of Magadha and Buddha in the streets of Rajgriha; (22) The Bacchanalian scene (Khusran & Sirin) and decorative motifs.

140 Cave I (21) Court scene : Persian embassy (?)

141 M. Singh, The cave paintings of Ajanta, p. 40.

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these paintings, to quote John Griffiths,[142] who has spent 13 years in studying them is "In spite of its obvious limitations, I find the work so accomplished in execution, so consistent in convention, so vivacious and varied in design, and full of such evident delight in beautiful form and colour, that I cannot help ranking it with some of the early Art which the world has agreed to praise in Italy.... TheAjanta workmanship is admirable, long subtle curves drawn with great precision in a line of unvarying thickness with the sweep of the brush, the touch is often bold and vigorous, the handling broad, and in some cases the impasto is as solid as the best Pompian work... . The draperies too are thoroughly understood, and though the folds may be conventionally drawn, they express most thoroughly the peculiarities of the oriental treatment of unsewn cloth. ...For the purpose of Art Education no better example could be placed before an Indian Art student, than those to be found in the caves of Ajanta. Here we have Art with life in it, human faces full of expression, limbs drawn with grace and action, flowers which bloom, birds which soar and beasts that spring or fight or patiently carry burdens, all are taken from nature's book, growing after her pattern and in this respect differing entirely from Mohammedan Art, which is unreal, unnatural and therefore incapable, of development."

The paintings at Bagh and Malwa represent only an extension of the Ajanta school and in variety of designs, vigorous execution and decorative quality seems to have ranked as high as those at Ajanta. They perhaps belong to middle of 6th century and first half of 7th century A.D.,[143] though they cannot be said to belong to one period. One of the largest excavations is a hall of over 90 ft. square having its roof, walls and columns covered with frescoes, though only crumbling fragments remain.[144]

142 Johns Griffiths first efforts were ruined when 87 of 128 reproductions were burnt in the great fire of London on 1885. Again his students succeeded in copying sufficient paintings to bridge the first two Vols. of reproduction called "The paintings in the Buddhist Cave temples of Ajanta published in 1896–7. (M. Singh, the cave paintings of Ajanta, Pref., p. 8).

143 D.N. Sukla, Six Fine Arts, pp. 179–80.
R.K. Mukerji, Gupta Empire.
Dr. V.S. Agarwal, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 467.

144 D.N. Sukla, Six fine Arts, p. 180.

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**Bagh and Ajanta Paintings Compared**

"The real Gupta paintings have the same qualities as the contemporaneous sculptures. The outline predominates, but only slightly. The colours are applied with well balanced, compact surface. But the lines are not emphasized, and discreet shading and transition by means of curls, ornaments etc. achieve effects coming very close to picturesque interpretation. The individual lines as well as the composition of whole scene is rhythmic and decorative. The scenery shows perspective, but prefers a steeply rising stage with little depth, where the individual scenes are grouped one above the other, though apparently natural transition. There is much living observation of near future, but no feeling for landscape. We cannot judge what colour combinations were favoured, as many of the paints have deteriorated. Today a deep brown combined with a strong lapis Lazuli, turqueise green and white predominates. The figures are very beautiful and sometimes full of intense feelings. At Bagh there is a bevy of girls, dancing a folk dance (garba) around a man, apparently a foreigner and at Ajanta a charming group of heavenly musicians (Kinnaris). At Bagh as well as at Ajanta loving couples and men in quiet discussion; at Ajanta the dignified promenade of a king and queen in their garden surrounded by a circle of courtiers, at Bagh a solemn procession on horse back, at Ajanta a dying princess in the arms of her despairing attendants, at Bagh a deeply moving couple of weeping ladies—all are masterpieces".[145]

Painting is a very old tradition in India. During the Gupta period this art was not only revived but reached culmination. The commentary of Yasodhara Kam-Sutra, a work of Gupta period, enumerates six limbs or essentials of painting. "These works include the proper representation of inner feeling or mood, ideal proportion as well as attention to proper pose, the preparation of colours and the use of brush."[146]

Art during the Gupta period was refined and restrained and free "from dead weight of conventions". It was perfectly natural and depicted the skill of the true artist who is the master of 'lalitakala' as described by Kalidasa (Raghu. VIII. V 67).

The conception of beauty or 'rupam' in the words of Kalidasa was

145 H. Goetz, India, pp. 110-11.
146 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 145.

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the characteristic of the Gupta Art which had a strong structure and the stamina of life. Art seems to have been worshipped and to have awakened the sense of spiritual joy and nobility and not to yield to the riotous worship of the senses. Kalidasa expressed this attitude in Kumarasambhava "Yaduchyate Parvati Papavrittya na rupamitya-avyabhichuri tadvachah... ." "The path of virtue is the path of beauty." This seems to have been the guiding impulse of the age.

The religious and spiritual appeal, of the Gupta art is of universal significance. The epic of life painted in the caves of Ajanta "has become for all times the standing commentary, the ground orthodox patterns of good and evil manifesting themselves in each individual's life and also the whole world".[147]

In this age, all forms from Divine to human were painted and sculptured. It seems as if the function of the artist was to visualise the ideal of 'Anuttara jnanavapti', as written in the records of the age.

The Gupta art knits outer form and inner feelings or mood together with ideal proportion and attention. Which in the words of Kalidasa is as natural and as perfect as the union of Parvati and Parmesvara in the ideal Ardhanarisvara form.

147 Vak. Gup. Age, pp. 468–70.

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# 8

# Architecture

FOR FAVOUR OF REVIEW

Stray references in the works of Kalidasa, give a glimpse of the architecture during Gupta period. The word 'Vastu'[1] refers to this art and 'Śilpisangha'[2] to the guild of architects, who built and repaired the buildings.

The poet has given vivid picture of the well planned town with a network of roads[3], a market[4] place, big houses[5], sky-touching palaces and mansions[6] with terraces[7].

The palaces had many inner apartments.[8] They had courtyards,[9] prisons,[10] court-room[11] and a sabhāgṛha.[12] Their Varandas[13] opened on the roofs lit with moon-beams at night and pleasure-garden.[14]

1 Raghu., XVII. 36. 'वास्तु' ।

2 *Ibid.*, XVI 38. शिल्पिसंघा ।

3 Raghu, XVI 12; नरेन्द्र मार्ग VI 67.

4 *Ibid.*, XVI 41.

5 Ku. VII. 56,63. प्रसादभालासु ।

6 Raghu., XIV 29; Megh. Uttar. 1. (अभ्रलिह् अभ्रंलिहाग्र) ।

7 अट्ट Raghu., VI 67, XVI II; V 75, XVI, 6; XIX 2.

8 Ku. VII 70 गृहं रहः; Śak. V 3. कक्ष्यान्तराणी ।
Ku. VIII, 81. गर्भवेश्मसु ।

9 Megh., V. 6; Śak., p. 223.

10 Māl., pp. 64,79.

11 Vik., p. 26.

12 Raghu, XVII 27· सदोगृह III 67.

13 Vik., p. 65. मणिहर्म्यपृष्ठ्तल ।

14 *Ibid.*, p. 54. प्रमदवन; Māl., p. 70.

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The pleasure garden which was attached to the palace contained all sorts of seasonal flowers and probably had a zoo also.[15]

Arches of the terraces or balcony or main gates were decorated architecturally and ornamentally "with carvings of gods, sages, demi-gods, goblins, crocodiles, sharks, fish, leographs, serpents, lions, flowers, leaves creepers etc. beautifully set with jewels.[16] In addition to palaces and high buildings, there was no town without temples.[17]

In spite of much literary evidences of the very high standard of architecture during the Gupta period, it is difficult to make assessment of its origin. The Gupta capitals, Ayodhya (modern Oudh) and Kanauj have long since been destroyed.[18] Nothing except a few excavated house-foundations and pot shreds has come to light from the ancient Gupta towns of Paithan, Karhād, Kolhapur, Maski etc.[19]

The Gupta Architecture has been placed in the articulate classical style (400-750 A.D.) which was preceded by a rich timber Architecture (C. 200 B.C. 400 A.D.) style.[20] The remains from Arayan to Aśoka's period are so few that a true picture of architectonic development cannot be ascertained. It is only from 5th century A.D. that architecture has been found proliferating.[21] The Gupta art of architecture has survived in a few provincial shrines and rock-cut caves and temples.

**Provincial Shrines**

According to early Brahmanical and Vedic literature, Hindus did not favour elaborate architecture for places of worship. According to

15 Mal., p. 85. पिंगलवानरेण ।

16 Acharya, A Dict. of Hindu. Arch., p. 247. Quoted by B. Upadhya, India in Kalidasa, p. 149, ft. n. 18.

17 Vik. 39, XVII 36; XVIII, 4. विश्वेश्वर

Meg. P., vv 33,34 महाकाल; Meg. P., v 43 स्कन्दवसति ।

18 Oriental Archi. in Colour, p. 295.

19 H. Goetz, India, p. 60.

20 O.A. in colour. pp. 275-76.
Stone-masonry Gandhara buildings and architecture of Gandhara style continued throughout the Kuṣana period and up to Fa-hein's visit (400 A.D.) (P. Brown, I.A., p. 43).

21 *Ibid.*, p. 272.
S.N. Sukla, Six Fine Arts, pp. 265-66.

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Satpath Brahmana, the Hindu shrine consisted of two sheds formed of beams of pots and covered with mats of reeds. Barhut and Sanchi reliefs show this kind of construction which are practically roofless.[22]

Shrines and sanctuaries in the Pre-Gupta period were mostly constructed of wood, bamboo and other parishable materials. Temple builders during the Gupta period started erecting their monuments with permanent materials such as bricks and dressed stones.[23] Cities of great beauty and temples mentioned in literary and epigraphic records and in Yuan-Chwang's writings, tell us of the high standard of architecture achieved. Though most have perished, enough of them have for the study of the Art.

The most important surviving examples of Provincial shrines were discovered in the jungles of Central India especially in Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. They include those at Bhitargaon in Kanpur District.[24] (Brick-building) Garhwa, Nachanakuthara, Bhumara and Tigawa all belonging to the 5th Century A.D. The most notable other examples

22 Percy Brown, I.A., p. 57.
Kalidasa refers to Paranaśala, with thatched roof. (Raghu XII 40).
The poet refers to Yajnasarana (Māl., p. 102) perhaps Yojnasala.
Sanchi Vihara belongs to pre-Asokan period according to the latest discovery of new Mauryan Brahmi in criptions at the Buddhist complex of the place. One of the inscriptions mentions of Bindusara's one envoy. The mention of Bindusara's name on a fragmentary granite pillar, has overthrown the old cherished notion of sudden emergence of Mauryan Art in the time of Aśoka. The Credit of discovery goes to Dr. M.G.S. Narayanan and team, of Calicut University (U.N.I. report, vide *Times of India* (daily paper) dt. 14th October, 1975).

23 Cl. Age, p. 496.
In the art of building, two progressive movements of fundamental significance are discernable (a) relating to its aesthetic character and (b) structural procedure. The former is a change from the mere initiative to infinitely creative and the later records the use of dressed stone masonry, which introduced a new power in the hands of workman. In this formative state, there emerged, the earliest known conception of the Hindu 'House of god' (P. Brown, I.A., p. 5').

24 Percy Brown, I.A. (Bandh), p. 50.
H. Goetz, India, p. 96.
Gupta Art infiltrated in Kashmir from fourth century A.D. By 6th Century A.D., the founder of new capital Pravarpura (Srinagar) king Pravarsena II accepted it fully. But the remains which are found today; Ziarat of Pir Haj Mohammad and Baha-ud-Din tell that "Gupta Art was no more than a superficial varnish over the crude local Architecture" (Marg. VIII 1955 p. 65).

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are Deogarh temple (5th Century A.D.), Nagari near Chittorgarh in Rajasthan (5th Century A.D.), and temples ranging from 6th to 9th centuries at Saurashtra, Himalaya, Bajaura, and Brahmor and old Vakataka kingdom.[25]

**Bhitargaon Temple**

Was most probably built in the 5th century. This is the earliest and the most remarkable example of brick building. It belongs to a class by itself. It bears resemblance to the Buddhist temple of Budha Gaya. Though both are co-dated, their style and intention are so different that they are considered to belong to separate groups.[26]

The temple of Bhitargaon stands at the centre of a fairly high plinth. It is a tower-like edifice, rising in diminishing stages to a height of 70 feet. The projected porch on the east side is approached by steps. A passage leads to an interior chamber or Cella 15 ft. square. Like many Brahmanical structures, it was not a temple for worshippers but a repository or a shrine for an image. Though the interior is quite plain, it displays certain constructional expedients, which are very interesting for such an early dated building: the porch and cella are covered by domical vaults and the passage connecting the two is by a wagon-vault.[27]

The exterior is ruined but it is quite evident that the upper part of the tower was finished by means of a short "keel" roof, unlike the later type Telika-Mandir (C. 750 A.D.) at Gwaliar and Vaital Deul temple at Bhuvaneshwar[28] (Plate XVI fig. 3). The builder has shown

25 H. Goetz, India, p. 96.

26 Benjamin Rowland, Art and Archi. of India, p. 136.
Percy Brown, I.A., p. 50.
Bhitargaon temple of Kanpur Distt. and Indo Buddhist shrines constructed of stone in Djeng plateau in central Java of much later date bear stylistic similarity (Influences of Indian Art). (India Society, p. 66 quoted by Percy Brown, I.A., p. 50 vide ft. n. 2)

27 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 136.
A.S.R. 1908-09.
Percy Brown, I.A., pp. 50-51. Regular temples are galleries for the glories of God, shrines are for ancestors images and other images. (C. Sivramamurti, S.A.I.C., p. 113).

28 Percy Brown, I.A., p. 51.
"The superstructure rising in diminishing stages with a decoration of Chaitya arches was originally crowned by a hall shaped roof of the Chaitya type that we see in the Pallava examples at Mamallapuram at Gwaliar." (B. Rowland, A. and A.I., p. 136).

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his skill in construction and has overcome the disadvantage of flatness and want of shadow in the treatment of its surfaces, inherent in structures composed of small elements such as brick. Decorative motif is derived from Buddhist sources. The bricks used in building the shrine measure $17\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{2} \times 3''$. The temple represents a phase of the building-art which was well understood and had a tradition behind it. In its vicinity there are various other temples erected in the 10th century A.D. They vary in size and design but are constructed on the same, simple principles, telling us that the method of building lingered on for a long time in these parts.[29]

The last group of brick-buildings is found in a number of ancient sites near the lower Indus in Sindh. The form seems to have been conveyed by the great water-way from the country of Gandhara to this western territory. For the form appears to be a later development in brick of the 'Greaco Buddhist' stone structure of the Northern Frontier. These buildings differ from those in the Gangetic region, perhaps due to different building materials available in an alluvial plain and in a mountainous country. All the monuments of Sindh date from the 5th or 6th century A.D. and are Stupas. Stupas were surrounded by monasteries, which have only traces left now. They were built on raised high square terraces like the Gandhara[30] type and had decorated walls. The similar structure of Mirpur Khas reveals nature of Sindh Stupa's terrace upon which it is built. It is a combination of a temple below and a stupa above.[31]

**Tigawa Temple**

The Vishnu temple of Kankali Devi at Tigawa is the typical example

29 Percy Brown, I.A., p. 51.
A group of brick-temples at Raipur District, of much later date bear affinity with Bhitargaon temple. Temple of Lakshmana at Sirpur (Plate XXXVI) having the same tower-like proportions is an example (A.S.R. 1909-10), (Percy Brown, I.A., p. 51).

30 Percy Brown, I.A., p. 54.
"Many-storied stupa of India may have given some of its character to the multiple-pitched roofs of the Chinese temple" (P. Brown, A.I., p. 42).

31 *Ibid.*, pp. 54-5.

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of a temple which retain Gupta features[32], in spite of later additions to its fron age. The temples at Sanchi, Tigawa and Eran are the best preserved examples of the group.[33]

Like all buildings of the group, the Tigawa temple is a square structure of 22½ ft. square, and its side encloses a cella of eight feet diametre. It has a porch projectins in front to the extent of seven feet. In several of these temples, the pillars have wider interval in the middle portico than those on either side. The facade owes its character entirely to the design of its pillars. They form the main elements of its frontage and are fully representative of early 'Gupta order'.[34] Each consists of "(a) a massive abacus surmounted by a device of lions, (b) a capitol resembling a broad conventional Vase, (c) a short shaft of many sides, and (d) a plain square pedestal." The pillar is a descendent of the Vishnu column at Besnagar of five centuries earlier, and the lion motif is of Aśoka's monoliths. The Tigawa temple's doorway to the cella, with Yakshini motif reminds of the Buddhist torana, but is transmuted in the Gupta temple to suit Brahmanical text. In the earlier compositions a dryad embraces a tree but here it has become an allegory of the holy waters of the Jamuna and Ganga with a river goddess standing on a tortoise on one side symbolising the Jamuna and a similar figure standing on a crocodile or a makara on the other representing the Ganges. This is a common device of Hindu temples, but in early Gupta period, the style is seen in the upper angle while in the subsequent period it is carved on the base of the door post.[35]

32 Cunningham's Report, Vol. X, p. 41.
Gupta buildings date from 4th to 6th centuries. Besides general formula of flat roof and pillared portico they possessed specific characteristics in (a) "the shape of pillars and capitols, (b) the treatment of the intercolumnation, (c) the system of continuing the architecture as a string-course round the entire building and (d) the design of the doorway." P. Brown, I.A., p. 58.

33 Cl. Age, p. 499.
Tigawa is in Jubulpur District. Eran is in N.E. of Bhilsa (P. Brown, I.A., p. 58.

34 P. Brown, I.A., p. 58.

35 P. Brown, I.A., pp. 58-9.
Ganga and Jamuna on the Jambs is a typical Gupta feature (V. Gup. Age, p. 454).
Buddhist Indian torana gateway became torii of Japan (P. Brown, I.A., p. 42.)

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Buddhist temple at Sanchi (No. 17) and the Tigawa temple conform to the general characteristics of the Gupta style and both belong to first half of the fifth century. V.A. Smith assigns Tigawa temple to Samudra Gupta's time, which S.K. Saraswati believes not to be far off the mark.[36]

"Tigawa example displays no marked architectural perceptions. There are crudities in its compositions, but its forms ripple with a refreshing vitality, and pulsate with the nervous energy of exuberant youth. These Guptas shrines (of the group) are something more than a symbol. They reflect the "sudden glory" which comes with a fresh inspiration, the capital, or 'order', providing the keynote. No longer does this present the whitening bones of a dead tradition, as in the Sanchi bell example but a living growing organism: For the Gupta Capital is the Purna Kalaśa (the bowl of plenty), typifying a renewed faith, the water nourishing the plant, trailing from its brim an allegory which has produced 'Vase and flower' motif, one of the most graceful forms in the whole range of Indian architecture."[37]

The Parvati temple at Nachana Kuthara in Aijaigarh State, the Śiva temple at Bhumara in Nagod State and the Lad Khan, the Kont-Gudi and the Muguti temples at Aihole, though differing in some parts of arrangement, all belong to the same group.[38]

Parvati temple of Nachana and Śiva temple of Bhumara were perhaps both erected before 500 A.D. Both have the same plan and the same proportions, though the Parvati temple is simpler in scheme. It consists of a square building of fifteen feet side, standing on a 35 feet wide square platform having a 8½ feet diameter a Cella. Both the buildings have 12 feet extended platforms on the front side, where it is approached by steps. Both the temples have

36 Cl. Age, p. 499.
V.A. Smith, Indian sculpture of the Gupta period (oz. III 4).

37 P. Brown, I.A., p. 59.

38 B. Rowland, A.A.I., pp. 134 ff; Cl. Age, pp. 501-2.
This group has flat-roofed square temples, with covered ambulatory around the sanctum and preceded by a porch in front, sometimes with a second storey above" (Cl. Age, p. 496); B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 132.
"Parvati temple bears carvings in imitation of rock-work. The exterior walls are decorated by a few sculptures of early Gupta craftsmanship. The Lad-Khan and Kont-Gudi at Aihole, probably come next in order". (Cl. Age, p. 506) Nachana is nearer Guptan Art and serves as a link between that and Bhubhārā (B.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 211).

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processional path around the outside of the sanctum. The Nachana temple's path is enclosed passage while the Bhumara temple's is open promenade. The doorways to the shrines (both) are of typical Gupta design.[39]

**Bhumara Siva Temple (Late 5th Century A.D.)**

It resembles in type and plan to the Bhitargaon temple. This shrine of Śiva consists of a square cella or garbha-griha. "It was itself originally contained in a larger walled chamber, so that an indoor processional path was formed around the holy of the holies. This enclosure in turn was preceded by a mandapa. It is difficult to say whether this arrangement is the origin of the typical late Indian temple plan, but it can easily be seen that by linking the porch direct to the holy of holies, the form of Hindu and Buddhist temple of Gupta period was completely evolved."[40]

K.P. Jayaswal visited Bhubhāra (Bhumāra[41]) in 1932. He saw a brick-wall round the temple[42] with thousands of scattered bricks.

39 P. Brown, I.A., p. 60.
According to K.P. Jayaswal who visited the temples in 1932. The Pārvati temple is deprived of outer walls completely. Local Brahmans have repaired with pieces, one side of Śiva temple. The walls of Pārvati temple imitating rocks and caves have thus wholly disappeared. Their animal sculptures, the specimen of Hindu Art are either lost or are lying scattered. Both the Parvati temple and Śiva temple are the works of the same artist and are contemporary (K.P. Jayaswal, p. 217).

40 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 137.
Bhumara is in Nagod State (*Ibid.*). Nagod is Nagaudh in Bundelkhand (Central India) K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 213. The Carvings and workmanship are in the best tradition of Gupta Art and the rich abacus of the door frames indicate a date, somewhere in first half of 6th century A.D. (Cl. Age, p. 506). Though late R.D. Banerji dates it the middle of 5th century A.D. (*Ibid.*).

41 According to the boundary pillar inscription of Bhubhāra (thari pather), the village of Bhumāra marked the boundary between Gupta Empire and Vakātaka kingdom, during the Gupta period (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 216).

42 K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 215-6.
The temple of Bhumāra (Bhubhāra) is in the village of Majagawāh (the middle village), at a distance of 1-1/2 miles from the village Bhubhāra. (*Ibid.*). (Photo of Mukhalingam attached ch. vii ft. 71)
Ek-Mukha-Śiva lingams have been found from Nachana, Bhumara and Khoh. Nakti ki-Talai (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 218-19). According to tradition the kings of Nachana and Nagaudh were Sanyasins (Historical Parivarajacka Maharajas of inscriptions) and the Bhars, probably the Bhārā-Śiva's and hence the Mukhalingams (*Ibid.*, p. 219).

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Most of the bricks had Brahmi letters of 200 A.D. He brought two such bricks and placed them in Patna Museum. The bricks read darva - ār ā (la) on one and darva (I.I)—ārālā (1.2) on the other side. "The name darva - arala 'hood - arch' may refer to the shape of arch or to the purpose of accommodating hoods of Naga images". Evidently the outer walls had niches with round arches for reception of images. One smooth brick has the inscription of 'Bhubharāyam'. The Mukhlingam lying flat in the temple seems to stand for 'Bhāra - kula - deva' the deity of the 'Bharākula dynasty'. Probably this was Śiva-lingam founded by Bhāra Śiva king mentioned in Vakātaka inscriptions. It belongs to Bhāraśiva period.

*Durga Temple of Aihole* is an example of modified structural Chaitya-hall with "familiar basilican plan of nave, aisle and apse (Fig. 17). A flat roof with stone slabs over the nave replaces the barrel vaults. In place of the ambulatory of the rock-cut Chaityas, it has a petroma running round the exterior of the cella. The plain and very massive bracket capitols of this arcade are a type that reappears with variations in all later periods of Indian architecture."[43]

*Ladh Khan Temple* (C. 450 A.D.) is a rectangular building with a flat roof of stone slabs. There are stone-grills on two sides to admit light. The eastern end opens in the pillared porch. "The wall is in reality a peristyle of massive stone posts, between which the latticed slabs have been placed like screens". The interior of the temple consists of a single large hall containing two groups of columns that provide a double aisle all-round. The unusual plan, according to Percy Brown, is derived from the pre-existing religious shrine, and from the arrangement of the Indian village meeting-hall or Santhagara.[44]

Lādh Khan temple is the earliest example of the massive bracket-like capitol continued throughout the Hindu Renaissance Period.[45]

**Deogarh Temple**

The early Gupta style reached its culmination by early 6th century. One of the surviving gems of Hindu architecture of the Gupta period is the Śiva temple at Deogarh in Jhansi district. The most

43 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 133.
44 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 134.
P. Brown, I.A.
45 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 134.

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important feauture of the temple is Śikhara[46] instead of the conventional flat roof. Unfortunately as the upper part of the sanctum is ruined, the details of its shape are difficult to make out, but it must not have been less than 40 feet in height.

The Daśavatra Temple of Deogarh is 18 feet square. It is placed in the centre of a square terrace five feet high with a flight of steps in the middle of each side. The most important feature of the temple is the arrangement of its portico. Instead of the usual single portico in front of the entrance to the sanctum, there are four of them on the four sides of the central structure. Each portico has a row of four pillars supporting a flat roof with customary wider intercolumnation in the middle.[47]

The most ornate of all the features is the doorway though designed on the mode of the period. It has so highly decorative additions that the principle of the projecting lintel-cornice, is almost obscured. It over hangs the elaborate frame of the door-way proper.[48] The main

46 P. Brown, I.A., p. 60.
B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 135.
According to epigraphic evidence high and lofty towers came into existence by 5th century A.D. Varahmihira's Brihat-Samhita and Matsya Purana refer to buildings as high as Kailaśa.

May be that "spire evolved from the peaked or domed huts of Eastern and Central India, which prevailed in those parts before the beginning of Christian Era." P. Brown, I.A., p. 77. "It is quite evident that such huts, whether of bamboo or wood were the prototype of the Nagara temple with Shikhara" (Dr. Ram Parsad Chanda in Rupam, No. 17. Calcutta 1919, quoted by P. Brown Vide I.A., ft. n. 1, p. 77).

On the other hand attempt has been made to show that "Shikhara of the Northern India type of temple developed out of the Buddhist stupa, gradually becoming elongated from the semi-gobular mound, through the various gradual changes, that took place during the early centuries of the first millennium until it finally took the form of a spire or tower." (Longhurst in 'The story of the stupa' Colombo 1937 quoted by P. Brown, I.A., vide ft. n. 2, p. 77).

47 P. Brown, I.A., pp. 60-1.
B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 135.
One portico leads to the sanctuary and the other three served to set off and protect the reliefs of Brahmanic subjects set in remaining walls of the edifice (B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 135).
M.A.S.I., pp. 4 ff.

48 P. Brown, I A., p. 61.
B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 136.

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decorated archway bears some relations to mural-paintings of the period produced at Ajanta. In the centre of the over-door slab is a plaque of Vishnu on the great naga. The door-way frame's outerside panels are having crisply carved foliate details. To the right and the left at the top and outside the main zone of the frame are reliefs of the river goddess Ganga and Jamuna, a very important motif of Gupta period. Dvarpālas or door guardians and female divinities are carved on the overlapping frames of the door. In the words of Percy Brown, "When complete this building was unquestionably one of rare merit in the correct ordering of its parts, all alike serving the purpose of practical utility, yet imbued with supreme artistic feeling. Few monuments can show such a high level of workmanship, combined with a ripeness and rich refinement in its sculptured effect as the Gupta temple of Deogarh."[49]

**Cave Architecture**

Most of the excavations reveal rock-cut representations of Indian Architecture. They belong to Bhuddhist faith, though Jain and Brahmanical establishments of this type are also known.[50]

The earliest cave settlement in the western Ghat is that of Bhaja (near Lonavla) belonging to the Ist Century B.C. to Ist Century A.D. The Chaitya hall of Bedesa, six miles south-east of Bhaja is similar but better in sculpture. Chaitya Hall of Kanheri in Karle opposite Bhaja belongs to (Ist century B.C.-early 2nd century A.D.) Pandulena caves near Nasik belong to 2nd century A.D.[51]

49 P. Brown, I.A., p. 61.
B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 136.

50 O.A. in colour, pp. 275-76.
Cl. Age, p 466.
Due to violent upheavals caused by Dynastic changes only the temple buildings built of stone or brick built from 4th century A.D. have survived. (O A., in colour, p. 211).
These caves were not only inhabited by monks, but served as summer retreats and pleasure-resorts of young rich. They enjoyed dances and favours of Courtesans (lonaśobhika), H. Goetz, India, p. 60.

51 H. Goetz, India, pp 60-62.
Bhaja, has a Chaitya hall and Two storeyed monk-cells. The sculptures have representations of Sun-god-Surya, driving in his chariot and God Indra on his elephant. They are clumsy representations as compared with contemporaneous reliefs of Sanchi (H. Goetz, India, p. 61).
Chaitya hall of Kanheri is enclosed in front of it by a screen surmounted

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Maharaṣtra group of Caves are at Ajanta, Aurangabad and Pitalkhora.[52]

The rock-cut Bhuddhist Architecture consists of two conventional types Chaitya Halls or shrines proper and Sangharama or Vihara or monastery,[53] Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad in Maharashtra and Bagh in Madhya Pradesh are famous. Of twenty-eight caves at Ajanta five belong to earlier period before Christian era, and twenty-three were possibly excavated between Gupta and later Gupta period; caves No. XIX and XXVI are Chaitya-caves and the rest are Viharas.[54]

by a music-balcony, above which the broad-chaitya window lets in a flood of light on the stupa. "Between the three arched entrance doors of the screen life size groups of donors are represented in high relief, skillfully though somewhat naively modelled unassuming but of a natural dignity." (H. Goetz, India, p. 61).

52 'The Panhale caves dating back to the 3rd Century A.D., have recently been unearthed, some 25 kms. from Dapoli in Maharashtra, by the Archaeological Survey of India."

They are 32 caves dating from 3rd to 12th Century A.D. Though they back the grandeur of Ajanta and perfection of Ellora, exude their own distinctive charm (*Times of India*, April 30, 1978).

53 Cl. Age, p. 466.

In the beginning Buddha did not permit dwelling places for monks who wandered and lived in forests at root of a tree, in a mountain cave, in a cemetery or on a heap of straw in open air. A merchant of Rajgriha realising their plight, offered to built a dwelling-place for them, provided they would live there. Buddha, according to Vinaya then permitted five kinds of abodes, a dwelling place, a curved house, a long house, a mansion and a cave. This is the beginning of merchants patronage of the monasteries and beginning of shelter to the monks from all natural upheavals (The cave paintings of Ajanta, p. 19).

54 Cl. Age, p. 466.

Pitalkhora and Kolhapur Archaeological finds of very early Buddhist relics reveal, that a small group of wandering Buddhist Bhikshus reached Deccan. Somehow they finding a peaceful place, selected Ajanta caves as residing place. Ajanta was nearly 100 Kilometres near the then flourishing centre of trade Paithan, which was on the route of traders and merchants travelling from hinterland to the seaports of North of Bombay and leading out of Deccan through Bhor, Nāna and Thal Ghat. Buddha's own Jetavana monastery a Srāva ti was donated by a wealthy merchant Anandapindika. On the same lines the merchant class seems to have lavished much money for the construction of these monasteries and Buddhist temples at Ajanta. These caves record inscriptions recording this help e.g. Cave II inscription "Why should not a temple be raised by those possessing wealth and desirous of mundane happiness as also of liberation," "for happiness of the world as also for their final

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**Chaitya Hall**

The Chaitya hall Cave No. XIX seems to be earlier than to the Chaitya hall Cave No. XXVI and (seems to) belong to the group of caves Nos. XVI and XVII, monastic establishments. The later group was the gifts of a minister and feudatory of the Vakataka king Harisena, belonging perhaps to the close of fifth and beginning of the 6th century A.D.[55]

Chaitya hall No. XXIX is smaller, earlier and finer than that of No. XXVI. It has exterior height of 38 feet, and width of 32 feet while the interior measures 46 feet by 24 feet, and corresponds to earlier existing No. 10 Chaitya hall of the Hinayana group. Fifteen pillars divide the interior nave and aisles. All these pillars have richly patterned shafts with cushion capitols and ponderous brackets above. These brackets support a broad triforium of five feet width, which continues right round the nave. Over all rises the vaulted roof with stone-ribs instead of wooden-ribs of earlier caves.[56] Every portion

emancipation."

Inscription in Cave XXVI records ,"A man continue to enjoy himself in paradise as long as his memory is green in the world, one should therefore set up a memorial on the mountain that will endure for as long as the moon and Sun Shine." (The Cave paintings of Ajanta, p. 19).

Out of twenty-eight, monastic halls of various sizes, four : 9, 10, 19, 26 are Chaitya halls or temples and the rest are Viharas or monasteries. (P. Brown, I.A., p. 68).

Viharas Nos. 8, 12, 13 and Chaitya hall Nos. 9, 10 belong to Hinayana series (2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.). Then there was interval from 2nd centuty A.D. to Cir. 450 A.D. From 450 to 642 A.D. is the Mahayana rock-cut period consisting of Viharas Nos. 11, 7 and 6 (450-500 A.D.) Viharas Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18, 20 and Chaitya hall No. 19 (Cir. 550 A.D.). Viharas Nos. 21, 25 and Chaitya hall No. 26 (550-600 A.D.). Viharas Nos. 1 to 5 (600-25 A.D.) and Viharas Nos. 27 and 26 (625-42 A.D.) (P. Brown, I.A., p. 69).

55 Cl. Age, pp. 466-7.
Harisena, was perhaps the most powerful Vakataka king according to Ajanta inscriptions. He spread his influence upto the mouth of Krishna and other surrounding countries, whose names cannot be deciphered. Vakatakas were great lovers of art learning and literature (Cl. Age, pp. 186-7). Nos. 9 and 10 Chaitya halls belong to Hinayana series (2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D.) and Nos. 19 and 26 belong to 550 A.D., and 550-600 A.D. respeetively (P. Brown, I.A., p. 69).

56 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 130.
P. Brown, I.A., p. 70.
Cl. Age, pp. 466-7.

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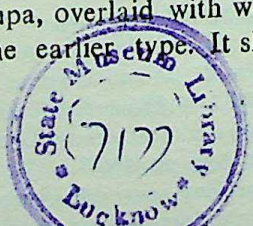
of the scheme is elaborately sculptured. The earlier rail ornaments have disappeared from the facade and are replaced by a double row of cornice, decorated with Chaitya window motifs. The most notable feature is the "images of Buddha empanelled, canopied or niched". But in contrast to these static figures are a group of aerial beings, some mounted on winged animals and others in full flight.[57] In early Chaityas of Karli and Nasik, Buddha figures are not to be seen anywhere in human form. This Chaitya depicts Mahayana influences and beliefs. "The beauty of this Chaitya is the rock-cut stupa of this Chaitya with high cylindrical drum, decorated with standing or seated Buddha figures between pilasters crowned by graceful makaras arches".[58]

Chaitya hall No. 19 seems to have been originally provided with an entrance court in front with side-chapels. The hall has only one doorway, instead of usual three and shallow entrance portico of elegant design. The flat of the portico was perhaps used as a minstrels' gallery.[59]

Chaitya Cave No. XXVI was excavated at least fifty years after the hall No. 19. The style seems to have reached adequate fulfilment and turning point and no further progress in this particular type and form of Architecture could be expected. It measures 68 feet long, 36 feet wide and 31 feet high. In addition to two columns at the entrance it has 26 pillars, each measuring 12 feet in height. Though the architectural treatment of both the halls No. 19 and this hall (26) is more or less the same, the decoration here has increased many folds and is found in every possible space.[60] Though the ornamentation is richer and more minute it is coarser and lacking the rhythmic balance of the earlier cave. The imposing stupa, overlaid with wealth of carving lacks the graceful conception of the earlier type. It shows



57 P. Brown, I.A., pp. 70-1.
Vak. Gup. Age, p. 458.

58 Vak. Gup. Age, p. 458.
B. Rowland, A.A.I., pp. 130-1.
"The original drum and hemispherical dome have been made into a pillared niche and canopy to accommodate the figure of a standing Buddha. Above rises an attenuated finial, in which one may still recognise the elements of harmika and umbrellas, now surmounted by a vase or kalaśa." (B. Brown, A.A.I. p. 131).

59 P. Brown, I.A., p. 70.
Cl. Age, p. 467.

60 P. Brown, I.A., p. 71.

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in front a figure of Buddha in high relief, sealed in pralambapada fashion, within an elaborately patterned niche. There appears to have been a broad portico extending along the entire width of the hall, which is entered through three doorways instead of just one as in cave No. XIX.[61]

Compared to earlier designs, the Mahayana rock cut architecture in caves XIX and XXVI shows a gulf of difference in style of ornamentation. The use of wood has been discarded in facade, ribs etc. but the design has been retained in rock replicas. Rail ornaments have disappeared, of the earlier caves do not have any human form of Buddha while these caves are full of Buddha's figures in different poses. The Gupta emblem of 'makara' is also found in cave shrine No. XIX. To quote Percy Brown:[62] "The later halls, thus, present a definite style of architecture, more flexible, sophisticated, and plastically ornate than any which had hitherto prevailed. Much of this was brought about by the cultural sublimation which had developed in the consciousness of the people themselves, whose experience had now become more matured. They were no longer mere imitators but had acquired a seasoned aesthetic sense. The Ajanta Mahayana rock-cut monasteries display evidence of a growing appreciation of architectural values, and mark a distinct advance in the art evolution of the country."

**Visvakarma Chaitya Hall**

Nearly sixty miles away from Ajanta are the Ellora rock-cut examples. There Chaitya Hall No. X is the most notable production of the whole Buddhist series. It is a more orthodox type of Buddhist prayer-house and resembles the contemporary Chaitya Halls of Ajanta. It is very spacious. It measures 85 feet by 44 feet inside and is 34 feet in height. It has 28 pillars of "Vase and foliage" order, which divide it into nave and aisles. It is not so richly carved as the Ajanta examples, though the interior is planned and decorated on the same general principles. The hall contains a seated Buddha. On the

61 P. Brown, I.A., p. 71.
Cl. Age, p. 467.
62 P. Brown, I.A., p. 71.

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whole this Viśvakarma hall marks a logical step in the evolution of the Buddhist house of prayer.[63]

**Udayagiri Cave Temple**

Brahmanical cave temple at Udayagiri (near Bhopal) was excavated in 401 A.D. during the reign of Chandra Gupta II, according to the inscription on it. It is partly rock-cut and partly stone built. The style is an example of transition from Cave shrines to structural ones. "The portico, the carved doorway and the pillars with their 'Bowl of plenty' capitols, show the typical features of the Gupta style".[64]

**Viharas**

There are numerous viharas or Sangharama caves found at Ajanta. Roughly speaking nearly twenty belong to the period under discussion. Cave No. XI is the oldest while caves Nos. XII and XIII belong to the earliest group. Though the hall of No. XI is smaller in area than cave No. XII, there are four pillars in the centre of the hall to support the roof. The hall has a few cells of irregular shape around it. It is preceded by a varandah with a row of pillars in front forming the facade. The far-end middle cell seems to have been cut to make room for a sanctuary consisting of a seated figure of the Buddha. This sanctuary in all probability is a later addition to the cave (perhaps 400 A.D.). This cave is perhaps the earliest to introduce pillars into excavated viharas.[65]

63 P. Brown, I.A., p. 73. It has the reputation of being frequented by artisans of particular carpenter's taste and hence is commonly known Viśvakarma or 'Lord of the Arts' (*Ibid.*, p. 73).

64 Vak. Gup. Age, pp. 459-60.
Please refer to 'Sculpture' chapter of this work as well.

65 P. Brown, I.A., pp. 69-70.
Cl. Age, pp. 469-70.
Cave Nos. 11, 7 and 6 though examples of initial productions of later movement, retain the threads of previous efforts. Although they differ materially from the originally Hinayana type, they clearly owe something to wooden forms, especially in the arrangement of pillars. The final conception of colonnade is seen in No. 6 which is adopted in all the subsequent Vihara halls (P. Brown, I.A., p. 70).
No. 6 seems originally to have had a varandah which has crumbled away. Its facade now presents a doorway, which was recut and enlarged, though it

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Of the remaining Vihara caves at Ajanta, Nos. XVI, XVII, I and II are most important. Nos. XVI and XVII were excavated around 500 A.D. during tne Vakataka king Harisena and the latter nearly a century after. They are famous for that rich and elegant paintings.[66]

Indian Architecture seems to have reached its culmination in Ajanta Cave No. XXIV, though the tradition may have continued in other sites. This, in the opinion of certain scholars, was due to Pulakesin second's defeat by Narsimha-Varman in Pallava A.D. 642 and the consequent chaos in Deccan.[67]

**Ellora**

The contemporary Viharas at Ellora[68] are the fine examples of Buddhist rock-architecture and are in direct line with Ajanta. "The Ellora halls are excavated out of a ridge of low hills pushed up from the vast plateau of the Deccan." Buddhists were the first to occupy this state, so their monasteries are in the most favourable position as compared with those of other communities. Buddhists practised their religion here for nearly two centuries (450-650 A D.) and during this period they produced twelve rock-cut halls for their creed. This series is divided into two sub-groups: Nos. I-V are known as 'Dhedwada group' and Nos. VI-XII are of a slightly later date. Each sub-group has a prayer hall and its attached monasteries. The Dhedwada group probably performed their prayers in a large pillared hall known as Mahanwada (No. V). It is a little unusual type consisting of a combination of prayer hall and monastery. The later group performed their prayers in number X Chaitya hall. Number II is most noteworthy. It has a square hall of 46 feet side with a colonnade of 12 massive pillars forming an aisle all-

retains much of old work. The doorway has the overhanging lintel, characteristic of early Gupta style (C. 450 A.D.).

66 P. Brown, I.A., p. 70.
Cl. Age, p. 470.

67 Cl. Age, p. 477.

68 Ellora is only 60 miles away from Ajanta (P. Brown, I.A. p. 71).
The final phase of rock-cut architecture in India is confined to Ellora where Buddhists had worked for two hundred years from roughly 5th century A.D. in (b) Elephantā and Salsette near Bombay and (c) under the Pallava in the modern Madras Presidency. Brahmanical and Jain Series of Ellora, Brahmanical examples at Elephanta and Salsette present the art of 7th to 9th century A.D. (P. Brown, I.A., p. 87).

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round. The peculiarity of this hall is that it has a side gallery formed by a supplementary row of four pillars, which on each side of the hall has produced, a kind of iconostasis, "with its back wall divided into compartments, containing groups of statuary in bold relief. Such a departure in the interior arrangement of the monastery is further evidence of the conversion of the hostel with its residential cells into a house of prayer brought about by the changes effected in the creed."[69]

Number V is the most remarkable and uncommon hall. It measures 117 feet deep and 58½ feet wide and has 24 "Cushion" pillars in two rows. It has 23 cells opening out of its sides. A square cella contains a seated figure of the Buddha with attendants.[70]

The later group of Buddhist monasteries Nos. VI-XII are notable for their size and extent. Two of the monasteries are the largest of their kind. They are the only examples of three stories and rise to the height of 50 feet with big courtyards in front.[71]

**Bagh Viharas**

They are nearly 150 miles north-west of Ajanta and are closely related to each other in plan and arrangement. They are plain and simpler. The sanctuaries in the innerport end of the hall generally contain a Chaitya instead of Buddha's image. As the rock is not sufficiently homogeneous and perfect, additional complement of pillars inside the central hall to support the roof is interesting feature.[72]

The Gupta age was the age of excavations and Kalidasa too has referred to this wonderful Art of Architecture as darigriha[73] and Śilaveśma.[74] The poet has frequently written[75] about the temples made of solid rocks in mountains.

69 P. Brown, I.A., pp. 71-2.
70 P. Brown, I.A., p. 72.
71 P. Brown, I.A., p. 72.
Nos. 11 and 12 known as Teen Thal (Three storied) and Do Thal (two storied) are the biggest monasteries. Teen Thal measures 112×11½ feet high and 72 feet deep (P. Brown, I.A., p. 73).
72 Cl. Age, p. 477.
73 Ku. I, 10, 14; Rtu. I 25.
74 Meg., p. 25.
75 Meg., p. 25, Rtu, I 25; Ku, I. 10, 14.

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The art of architecture like other Arts i.e. paintings, sculpture etc. reached culmination during Gupta period. Such fine works as lattice work in wood, stone, plaster and metal with air-holes, narrated by Kalidasa [76] are no less wonders of the age.

76 यनाप्रवाहै शिशिरैः परीतान्रसेन धौतान्मलयोद्भवस्य ।
शिलाविशेषानधिशेऽय निन्युर्धारागृहेष्वातमभृद्धियन्तः ।।
(Raghu. XVI. 49).
Kalidasa has mentioned about gold-lattice in the city of Bhoja (Raghu. VII. 5)

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# 9

# India and Neighbouring Countries

There is enough literary (Indian and Foreign) epigraphic, Numismatic Archaeological, artistic and travellers evidence to intimate India's trade retations with foreign countries via land and sea routes from remote times.[1] But there is no definite record of the first emigrants who spread Indian Art, Culture, religion, customs and Sanskrit language in foreign islands and countries.

The earliest archaeological finds at Oc-co in Indo-China and Kuala Selinsingh in Perak were founded on Neolithic sites, which Indian emigrants and Navigators may have frequented from time immemorial. Beyor's systematic excavations in the Philippines have proved that the glass and iron objects found there are identical with the pre-historic glass and finds in South India. It would be reasonable to conclude that the countries en route to Philippines were also in touch with India and there may have been Indian settlements in Coastal South-East Asia well before the Christian era.[2]

The land routes between India and South-East Asia lay through Bengal, Assam and Manipur. The travellers proceeded to Upper

1 Please refer to Ch. III of this work. These foreign countries include Greater India of pre-world war II called S-E Asia after the war. The term East-Indies was commonly used to describe Malaya-Archipelago or Indonesian region because S-E was closely associated with India culturally and commercially. (D.P. Singhal, I.W.C., p. 80).

2 D.P. Singhal, I.W.C., pp. 84-86.
The Sanskrit inscriptions found in S-E Asia are not very posterior to the first Sanskrit inscriptions of India.

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Burma, through the passes in the Manipur hills and reached Lower Burma through Arakan.

A part of this route was common with the Indian route to Szechwan and Yunnan in South-Western China.

The popularity of these routes must have varied from time to time. It appears that the earliest settlers embarked at Amaravati and landed at Martban in Burma and then reached Pegu and settled there. The others pushed southward and reached Thailand via the Three Pagoda pass.[3] The port of Tamarlipti became more important during the Gupta period because of its proximity to the Gupta capital at Patliputra. Fa-hein (beginning of 5th century) sailed from this port and reached Java in three months. During the Pallava period Kanchipuram, though forty miles inland, and not a port, was very popular for starting journey to Burma, Malaya, Java or Sumatra[4] islands.

So land and sea both the routes played very important part in transplanting Indian culture and civilisation in far-off lands.

The reference to Islands or Dvipas are found from the time of Mahabharata, which records 'The India' that comprised of Hindu Dvipas ruled by one Samrāt or king. But the archaeological finds do not reveal cultural impacts of not earlier to first Century A.D.

The Gupta style temples and stone sculptured deities of 4th century A.D. in Cambodia ; Vaishava and Śiva Sculptures, Buddhist stupas, brick buildings, Terracottas and Gupta script in Burma, and the Gupta Art examples in Indonesia are all solid testimony to the fact that Samudra Gupta did unite further India with motherland culturally if not politically.[5]

**Allahabad Inscriptions and the Islands**

The Allahabad Inscription refers to the king of Simhalas and all islands paying tribute to the Gupta Emperor. The King of Ceylon, Meghavarṇa, sought the permission of Samudra Gupta to build a

3 R.C. Majumdar, Hindu Colonies, pp. 14 ff.
D.P. Singhal, I W.C., pp. 87-8.

4 Fa-hein, Legge., p. 10) writes that Tamarlipti (Modern Tamluk) in W. Bengal was a great emporium of trade.

5 A.K. Coomaraswamy, H. of Indian and Indonesian Art, pp. 157, 169, 182, 183.

6 Allahabad Inscription line 24 (Sarva-dvipa-Vasibhir-atmanivedana-).

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monastery[7] at Bodh Gaya for Simhalese pilgrims. This is sufficient enough to show that good relations existed between Ceylon and the Gupta Emperor.

Champa (Cambodia) has Sanskrit inscriptions[8] of 2nd or 3rd Century A.D. (No. I) and 400 Century A.D. (Nos. 2 and 3), belonging to the family of Sri Mara and naming a King Bhadarvarman also respectively. The first belongs to a Kaundinya Brahman while the second and third seem to belong to the same age and were perhaps written by the same individual. These Sanskrit inscriptions speak of Cambodia's connections with India, where Sanskrit revivalism had reached its height during the period under study. R.C. Majumdar has dated these inscriptions on the bases of style, language and the famous Vasantatalika meter of Vakataka and Gupta inscriptions.

Fu-Nan (Kambuja deśa) under Śrutavarman[9] established a new social system on Hindu lines. According to Coomaraswamy, Samudra Gupta's reign coincides with this new system.

The inscriptions at Java also written in Sanskrit of the fourth and fifth century A.D. Fa-hein (414-5 A.D.) found the country as stronghold of Brahmanism. Similarly at Sumatra the Chinese pilgrim found Brahmanism in more flourishing state than Buddhism.[10]

## THE HISTORY OF CULTURAL EXPANSION

### Ceylon

Named Simhale (dvipa) in the Allahabad incription, is of great historical value as far as its relations with India are concerned. In Mahabharata it is called as 'Lanka'. Rama defeated Ravana the king of Lanka. Vayu Purana, while describing about 'Yadu Vanśha' narrates Arjuna's conquest of 'Lanka'.[11] Aśoka sent his son to propagate Buddhism in 'Simhaladvipa'.[12] As alluded to in the Allahabad

7 The monastery still exists at Bodh-Gaya. It is well maintained and enjoys great fame.
8 R.C. Majumdar, Champa ii Inscription Nos. I, (V.D. Chanh), 2 and 3; Cho-Dinh Rock Inscriptions, pp. 1-3.
9 A.K. Coomaraswamy, Hist. of India and Indonesian Art, p. 181.
10 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 90, 113.
11 Vayu Purana, II, p. 231.
12 Mahavamsa.
Fa-hein, Giles, p. 67.
Legge., pp. 90, 113.

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Inscription, the king of Ceylon sought the permission of Samudra Gupta, to build a monastery at Bodh Gaya for the residence of pilgrims from his land to the land of Buddha. Fa-hein[13] has narrated the importance of ships sailing from Champa (Bhagalpur) to Ceylon, which he calls Simhala. The Chinese pilgrims left home via this island. So it seems reasonable enough to assume that the Saimhalaka king accepted the position of Samudra Gupta, and Ceylon was an important port of call for Indian ships sailing for further India. It was annexed by Samudra Gupta to keep in close touch with colonies or islands in Further India and to control the sea route. The visit of an ambassador from Ceylon and Samudra Gupta's permission to built a Buddhist monastery was not accidental but the result of a conscious pursual of imperial policy.[14]

**Burma**

According to the Burmese tradition a Hindu dynasty was established long before the beginning of the Christian era in lower and upper Burma. The settlement of Indians in Burma long before the 2nd century A.D. is proved by Ptolemy. He mentions Sanskrit place names which have been located (with fair amount of certainty) in Burma. Archaeological discoveries of certain Indian Brahmi Alphabets found in isolated stones in Burma, also point towards the same conclusion.[15]

13 Fa-hein stayed here for two years and obtained the copy of the Disciplines, Agamas on Esstatis contemplation and a collection of extracts from the canon which was not found in China (Fa-hein, Giles, p. 76).

14 Refer Ch. 3 of this work.
K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., pp. 157-58.
Ceylon is known as Tamarparna also (Cunningham, Anc. Geog., p. 751).
According to Mahavamsa king Vijay of Bengal (Banga) with 700 followers went to Ceylon in 6th Century B.C. and married the Yaksi, queen of the land. The land was named Simhale after the name of Vijay's dynasty. That Yaksi queen coronated Vijay and he became the ruler of the land. This is the conquest of Ceylon, by Indian Buddhists. This very historic work, further records, that the dying Buddha, advised his followers to protect Vijay and propagate Buddhism. This led to another Buddhists-migration to Ceylon. (Mahavamsa Ch. VI and VII).
Tamil literature also records that this island was inhabited by Yakśas before its conquest by Vijay (Sri Krishna Swami Ayengar, some contributions of S. India to Indian culture, p. 69).

15 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, pp. 15, 217-222. By first Century A.D. Tagaung in the North, old Prome (Srikşetra and Pisanu Myo or city of Vishnu)

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According to Chinese records of 3rd century A.D., Hindu colonists first settled in lower Burma, and founded the kingdom of Śrikshetra with its capital near modern Prome.[16] Yuan-Chwang (6th century A.D.) has referred to many Hinduised kingdoms in Indo-China : Śrikṣetra with its capital at Prome (Lower Burma), Dvāravati comprising a large part of Siam, Isanapura (Kambuja) and Maha Champa (Champa) and other new unidentified kingdoms.[17]

In Central Burma, both Buddhism and Jainism was adopted by the people, from the early centuries of Christian era. Hinduism became prominent only after the fall of Fu-Nan. The archaeological remains proved that both Sanskrit and Pali were cultivated here. A Sanskrit inscription of the seventh century A.D., engraved on a pedestal of Buddha mentions three kings of earlier period : Harivarman, Simha Vikrama and Surya Vikrama.[18]

on the Irawadi, and Thaton on the sea coast possessed Indian colonies or were under strong Indian influence (A.K. Coomaraswami, H. of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 169).

Phayre, History of Burma, p. 24.

16 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 222.

17 Si-Yu-ki. II. 200.

"Among the various indigeneous peoples among whom the Hindu colonists settled, three deserve special attention beginning from South, we came across the Mons who were also known as Talings." The name given to Telugu speaking regions on the coast of India and was ultimately applied to the whole people. Lower Burma's Hinduised settlements were known as Ramaññadeṣa, but the Mons spread their power further to the South as far as Dvarmati, which comprised the lower valley of the Monam river in Siam (R.C. Majumdar, Anc. Ind., pp. 483).

Dvaravati was inhabited by the Mons or Talangas—the name given to Telugu speaking regions of the coast of India. These Hinduised Talangs occupied the lower Burma, known as Ramaññadeṣa. The Hindu settlers in the Mons country further spread their power to the remote regions of North Siam and Laos.

(R.C. Majumdar, Anc. Ind., p. 483).

18 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 222.

Cl. Age, p. 637.

The Age of Imp. Unity, p. 657.

Indian Buddhist literature mention Thaton and Pegu which according to local tradition are Suvarnabhumi and were converted to Buddhism by Aśoka's missionaries Soma and Uttara. They are said to have brought eight hair of Buddha and enshrined them in a pagoda. Since then known as Shwe Dagon, near Rangoon.

(Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 220).

Buddhaghosha is said to have visited Thaton in about 450 A.D. He took

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*Art and Architecture*

Very little is known about the sculpture of the early period, but whatever fragments have been found they are provincial variants of the Gupta style. The earliest available examples are of relief sculptures. They belong to 10th or 11th century A.D. They illustrate the Jatakas and the life of the Buddha.[19]

"Structures particularly Stupas, belonging to 5th-7th century A.D., images of various gods and goddesses, Brahmanical and Buddhist, of the Gupta style, extracts from Buddhist scriptures engraved on gold plates in Indian character of 5th and 6th century A.D. and a large number of terracota votive tablets with bas-reliefs, representing scenes from Buddha's life and inscribed with well-known Buddhist formulae, "Ye Dharma Hetuprabhava" etc. in late Gupta Alphabets prove the domination of Indian culture introduced...during the first millenium of the Christian era."[20]

If tradition is believed Buddhism in Burma was introduced by Aśoka's missionaries, and it seems to have become a prominent religion of the country during the Gupta period.

**Siam (Thailand)**

Probably in the early centuries of Christian era the Mon-race of lower Burma accepted Buddhism, and gradually settled in the Mekong valley. Here it merged with Lao Thai[21] (originally from Tibet and S. China).

with him Pali Canons. From this time o wards Burma is more exclusively a Buddhist Country. (A.K. Coomaraswami, H. of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 169).

19 B. Rowland, A.A.I., pp. 255-6.

20 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 222.

21 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 248.
Percy Brown, p. 226.
Thai is tribal name and Thailand etimologically denoted a free land or a land of the Thais (free) (Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 252).
Thailand or Siam comprises of four distinct areas, the Northern region embraces the circle of Boyab, the central region is formed by the valley of Menam river, the N-Eastern plateau and Southern Peninsular region (D.P. Singhal, I. & W.C., p. 322).
Mekong is probably derived from Mā-ganga (Mother ganges) (*Ibid.*).

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Thais did not establish political domination in Siam till 13th century because Siam was under Hindu domination from at least one thousand years earlier and had many flourishing Hindu principalities.[22]

Indian immigrants seem to have established themselves in Siam in the first two centuries of Christian era. The remains of a temple and a little statuette of a walking Buddha of Amaravati style can be attributed to the same period.

A bronze Buddha statue of Amaravati school of 2nd century A.D. and remains of temples have also been found in the same locality (Pong Tuk).[23]

A Sanskrit inscription of the 4th century A.D. along with Vaishnava sculptures, has been found from Mungsi Tep near Pechaburi.

A large number of Buddhist images show distinctly the Gupta style of earlier as well as later types. Two stone statues with inscriptions belong to 5th and 6th century A.D. A fine sculpture piece 'The torso of a Yakshini' of Gupta period has been found at Si Tep (Sri Deva) near Pechaburi remote from the seashore.[24]

About 550 A.D. Mon-invaders were able to assert themselves and found their Empire at Dvaramati.[25] From Dvaramati, the ancient kingdom situated between present Burma and Cambodia, a few Buddhist sculptures based upon Gupta models have been found. Otherwise the remains of this civilization particularly in the sphere of Art and Architecture are very rare. Fragmentary remains of buildings, chiefly foundations only do not give any idea of the architectural style or super structures. They are composed of laterite or moulded bricks. These plinths evidently supported super structures of timber. A small model found at Kedah, is the reproduction of monolithic temples at Mamallapuram (Madras C. 7 A.D.). This implies a Southern approach by Sea through Malaya which may have brought contributions from Amaravati (Andhra, 2nd to 7th Century A.D.), and Pallava (7th Century A.D.) and Simhalese Art

22 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 252.

23 Hindu Civilization in Far-East, pp. 252, 254.
These are the excavations of Pong Tuk or Phra Pathon. Pong Tuk is 30 miles west of Benkong river. It is leading to Martaban and hence was in direct contact with Amaravati (D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 322).

24 Hindu Civilization in Far-East, pp. 252-55.

25 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 248.

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from Ceylon.[26]

The country has scattered remains of Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures of Gupta style. But the Siamese characteristics are easily discovered particularly in the type of heads and features.[27]

The most important remains of Gupta character found in Southern Siam, are Vishnu from Vien Sraḥ, Lokeśvara from Jayā (both in the National Library Bangkok), a pre-Khmer Buddha of the Romlok kind (in the Museum at Authia), Buddha from Dvaramati (in the Museum at Lopburi), a bronze ajouree pedestal in the manner at Kāngrā brass fig 163 and Dhamma-Chakka at Prapathom.[28]

One of the most beautiful examples of Buddha's image is from Northern Siam. At present it is in the Seattle Art Museum "The head alone in the beautiful ordering of its parts is one of the loveliest in Buddhist Art. The arching swallow-wing eye brows are made in conformity with the injunction of the Śastra, suggesting the leaves of the *neem* tree as a metaphor for arched brows. The lotus petal shape of the eyes is echoed in the curve of full lips. Body and head alike have the simplicity and the plastic solidity of Gupta Buddhas, but the whole is imbued with a new feeling of inner tension that makes it a veritable emblem of serenity and ecstasy.[29]

The Siamese alphabet is derived from the Kambuja alphabet which owes its origin to the 6th-8th centuries inscriptions of Southern India. Indian forty-four consonants and thirty-two vowels of Siamese are of Indian origin.

26 Percy Brown, p. 227.
Dvarmati was the first kingdom of Indian immigrants. It was very powerful by 7th Century A.D. as narrated by Y-Chwang. (R.D. Majumdar, A.I., p. 484). The first phase of Historical architectural development of Siam begins from Dvarmati (Percy Brown, p. 227). Dvarmati was founded by Mons or Talaings from lower Burma in the 2nd or 3rd Century A.D. (D.P. Singhal, I and W.C., p. 174). Indian cultural influence continued to grow throughout, first through its contacts with Amaravati in S. India and later on with Dvarmati in the Menon Valley (D.P. Singhal, I. & W.C., p. 114).

27 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 248.

28 A.K. Coomaraswamy, H. of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 175.

29 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 227, plate 154.
Siamese have modelled Buddha's images in their typical own way. "In the form of a slender figure with flame crowned oval face, wearing a strange all pervasive smile and to the distinctive pagoda style which is unique combination of Indian inspiration and Chinese architecture" (D.P. Singhal, I and W.C., p. 119).

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The Siamese religious literature is almost wholly Buddhist. Their fiction and mythological literature are indebted to Indian stories. Ramayana, Mahabharata and Kalidasa's Śakuntla are the bases of Siamese literature. Jataka tales are also popular.

Siamese dance, drama and music depict clear Indian influences and are drawn from Indian mythology e.g. the story of Savitri and Satyavan. Many of Thai musical instruments resemble Indian musical instruments.

The Siamese legal system is based upon Manusmriti. The first work of their legal corpus is called 'Phra Dharmaśastra'.[30]

**Fu-Nan (Cambodia)**

Fu-Nan was one of the oldest kingdoms of Cambodia. The Chinese have preserved its early history. According to their record (Kang Tai's account of Fu-Nan), it was founded by a Hindu named Huen-tien (Kaundinya) in the first Century A.D. His descendents ruled for 100 years after which the kingdom passed to the general of the last king Fan-Che-man, who was elected king by the people (C. A.D. 200). He founded a new dynasty. He organised a powerful navy and conquered a large number of neighbouring states, which became vassals of Fu-Nan. Nearly the whole of Siam and parts of Laos and the Malay Peninsula acknowledged the authority of Fu-Nan. It thus became the first Hinduised dvipa.

Kaundinya introduced civilization to this primitive state. Men and women, who used to live naked, were made to wear clothes.[31]

*Gupta Age*

The Kingdom of Fu-Nan passed through great political disturbances in the first half of the Fourth Century A.D. According to Chinese

30 D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., pp. 119-20.

31 The Age of Imp. Unity, p. 656. (Kang Tai's Account AIU, p. 657). After Fan-che-man, the next king Fan-Chan sent an ambassador to China in 243 A.D. and his relative Su-Wu was welcomed by the king of India. He returned to Fu-Nan with presents and two envoys after four years. These four years witnessed palace revolution, after which Fan-Sium became the king of Fu-Nan. During his time Kang Tai visited Fu-Nan, probably between A.D. 245-250 (The Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 656-7). According to Cambodian annals it was founded by an exiled prince of Indraprasatha, (The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 655). R.C. Majumdar, Kambojadeśa, pp. 26ff; B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 224.

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records, Chan-tan (Chandan or Chandana), a Hindu among many claimants ascended the throne and sent an embassy to China in A.D. 357.[32]

In the beginning of Fifth Century, another Indian named Kaundinya was elected king by the people of Fu-Nan. He was perhaps belonged to the second stream of immigrants from India. He Brahman and completed the Brahmanical culture which was introduced nearly 300 years earlier.[33]

The next important king of the Kaundinya family, according to Chinese annals, is Jaya Varman. He sent some merchants on a trade mission to Canton. They were joined there by an Indian Buddhist monk, Nagsena. On their return journey they were forced to land at Champa. Chams robbed them, but Nagsena returned to Fu-Nan. According to Nagsena's report, preserved in Chinese chronicles, Śaivism was the dominating cult of Fu-Nan. He was sent to China in 484 A.D. by King Jaya Varman to seek help against Chams with a poem eulogising God Maheśvara, Buddha and the Emperor of China. This mission did not bring any help. In 503 A.D. Jaya Varman again sent an embassy to the Imperial Court with presents including an image of Buddha made of coral. In 511 and 514 A.D. two more Buddhist monks of Fu-Nan settled in China and translated canoncial texts.[34]

Jaya Varman's chief queen, Kulprabhavati, and her son, Guna Varman, have left two Sanskrit inscriptions. Guna Varman did not succeed his father Jaya Varman. His brother Rudra Varman, born of a concubine, succeeded after killing the younger brother born of the legitimate wife.[35]

*Rudra Varman* sent several embassies (not less than six) to China between 517 and 539 A.D. He is the last king mentioned in Chinese records. During or shortly after his reign Fu-Nan was invaded by the King of Kambuja, which was originally a vassal state of Fu-Nan in Northern Cambodia. The struggle continued for some time and

32 Cl. Age, p. 632.
33 Cl. Age, p. 632.
Vak-Gup. Age, p. 311.
34 Cl. Age, pp. 632-3.
Vak-Gup. Age, p. 311.
35 Cl. Age, p. 633.
Vak-Gup. Age, p. 311.

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Fu-Nan was completely conquered by Kambuja, which then became the dominating power in Cambodia.[36]

*Art and Architecture in Cambodia*

*Architecture*: A very few specimens of early records have survived to give us a true picture of the early Khmer architecture. The subsequent character of their buildings leads us to surmise that they raised their huts on layers of logs. From about 5th or 6th Century, the Indianisation of the Khmers seems to have taken place. All the monuments of the 5th, 6th and 7th Centuries point to the Indian origin of the style. Though the actual remains of this period are rare, there are several available examples—believed to be of this period—of wooden abodes replaced by brick construction.[37]

The largest centres of pre-Khmer (1st-7th Century A.D.) civilization were Samror and Prei-kuk, the ancient capitals of Fu-Nan. They are located in almost impenetrable jungles near Kampong Thom on the road from Saigon to Angkor. There are dozens of brick and stone shrines, which suggest Indian precedents such as the temples at Sirpur and Bhitargaon.[38]

The temple of Tat-Panom on the Menkong gives a cule to the Art of building at this stage. It is a Buddhist structure and presumed to belong to 6th or 7th Century. It is built of large rectangular bricks. It has bas-relief of Indian origin and character, "A link with the Amaravati school."[39] It was the time when the brick-building phase was the progress in India.[40]

A similar example is the Śiva temple at Bayang. It is built on hill-top, probably in the beginning of the 7th Century A.D., and rises in three diminishing storeys. "The storeys, unlike the similar terraces

36 Cl. Age, p. 633.
Vak-Gup. Age, p. 311.
The Kambuja or Khmer kingdom gradually emerged from the fusion of Chenala and Fu-Nan and became the most powerful state in Indo-China. (D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 126).

37 Percy Brown, p. 219.
The earliest architecture of Cambodia is mixture of indigenous "elements and forms, imported by Indian cultural invasions." (B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 225).

38 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 225.

39 Dr. Le May in Buddhist Art in Siam, pp. 50,60, Cambridge 1938. (quoted by Percy Brown, ft. n. I, p. 219).

40 Percy Brown, p. 219.

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of Indian temples, are not functional but entirely decorative—evidently borrowed from Gupta type." The ground plan is an adaptation of Bhumara temple.[41]

*Sculpture*

*Pre-Khmer* sculpture is indebted to Indian models even more than the surviving buildings of the period. Buddha images from Siam and Cambodia are closely related to Gupta sculptures of India. The Buddha images found at Takèo and Prei Krabas have the same gentle expression and transparent "sheath-like robes as those which characterise the Gupta Buddhas of Sarnath and some of the late Gupta rock-cut images in cave XIX at Ajanta."[42]

Throughout history, Buddhism and Hinduism dominated Cambodia alternatively from one reign to another. Similarly art, the most remarkable pieces of sculpture belong to the 7th Century A.D.[43]

According to Chinese records, Fu-Nan was a wealthy country with (trade relations stretching from Rome to China. It overflowed with gold, silver, pearls and spices. Indians developed the techniques of irrigation and reclamation were thus responsible for the prosperity of the land.[44]

Many Fu-nanese buildings, statues of Buddhas and Hindu gods such as Vishnu and Śiva, gold ornaments, tin amulets with symbols of Vishnu and Śiva, merchant seals with inscriptions in Sanskrit excavated from sites in Fu-nan reveal Gupta or post-Gupta influences.[45]

"Fu-Nan inscriptions are in pure flawless Sanskrit. Their contents show that Indian religion philosophy and mythology were widely understood (as was) the secular knowledge of India such as phonetics (Śabda), logic (nyaya) and political theory (arthashastra).[46]

*Kambuja* was situated in North-Eastern Cambodia. According to legends it was founded by Kambu Svayambhuva, the king of Arya-

41 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 226.
42 B. Rowland, A.A.I., pp. 227 ff.
*Khmer* kingdom emerged from the fusion of Chenala and Fu-Nan and became the most powerful state of Indo-China (D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 126).
43 *Ibid.*, p. 227.
44 D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 122.
45 D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., 123.
46 *Ibid.*, p. 123.

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deṣa (India) and the Apsara Mera and hence the name.[47] Two earliest known rulers of the kingdom are Śruta Varman (400 A.D.), and his son Śretha Varman. Śretha Varman threw off the yoke of Fu-Nan and established an independent kingdom with Śreshthapura as the Capital. This capital was close to Vat Phu Hill near Bassac in Laos. On the summit of this hill called Linga-Parvata, was the temple of Bhadraśvara Śiva (the deity of the royal family).

About the close of the 6th century A.D. Bhava Varman became the king of Kambuja, and he transferred his capital to Bhavapura.[48] According to one inscription in Sanskrit, he consecrated a Sivalinga named Tryambaka. Some scholars are of the opinion that Bhava Varman belonged to the royal family of Fu-Nan. He became the king of the country by marrying a princess of this country. His dynasty raised the principality of Kambuja into a big kingdom.[49]

Yuan-Chwang reeords regular and intimate intercourse between Kambuja and India during the days of his contemporary, King Iśaha Varman.

*Hindu Culture In Kambuja*

Kambuja was a stronghold of Hindu religion. Buddhism had less influence. While Śaivism was dominating, Vaishnavism was also

47 कम्बोजा कम्बलभोजाः कमनीयभोजा व कम्बलः
Nirukta II, p. 160.
"कम्बोजाः कम्बलभोजः" ते ही प्रायेण कम्बलनुपभुजन्ते हिमप्रायत्वात्तस्य देशस्य । "कमनीया भोजा व" । कमनीयानि प्रार्थनीयानि चैत हि द्रवयाणि उपभुजन्ते प्रचुर रत्नो प्रार्थनीयानि चैत हि द्रव्याणि उपभुजन्ते प्रचुर रत्नो हि स देश इति ।
Nirukta, Nighantu Bhaśya, p. 161). Kamboja was very cold and full of wealth.
D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 125 (Kambuja royalty traced its decent from Rishi Kambu Svayambhuva, the king of Aryadeṣa and Apsara Mera which is another version of the recurrent motiff of foundation myths of royal families in S. India).

48 Cl. Age, p. 633.
Kambuja or the Khmer kingdom gradually emerged from the fusion of Chenala and Fu-Nan and became the most powerful state in Indo-China (D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 126). The country became fully organised on the lines of Hindu civilization under Srutvarman (400 A.D.). (A.K. Coomaraswamy, H. of India and Indonesian Art, p. 181).

49 Cl. Age, pp. 633-4.
Coedes, Etats, p. 116, quoted by R.C. Majumdar vide Cl. Age, ft. n. 1, p. 633. D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 125.

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popular. The entire pantheon of Puranic deities was known in Kambuja, and innumerable gods and forms known in India were seen there. Indian śastras were the bases of their religion. The inscriptions invariably refer to Buddhist scriptures, Vedas and Vedangas and to kings and ministers possessing profound knowledge of the Dharmaśastras. "A Sanskrit inscription of 5th century A.D. inscribes in eighteen verses the character of Kurukshetra tirtha, ablution in which produced as much merit as the performance of 1000 Aśvamedhas, 100 Vajapeyas and the gift of 10,000 cows.... Several verses of the Mahabharata occur in this inscription". Another inscription of the 6th century A.D. tells us that Ramayana, Mahabharata and Puraṇas were daily recited. The gift of these books to the temples was considered sacred. Inscriptions earlier to 9th Century refer to many branches of knowledge of Indian polity and literature e.g. Śabda, Vaiśeshika, Nyaya, Samiksha and Arthaśastra. Sanskrit Kavyas was the favourite subject of study.[50]

Indians established themselves in Fu-Nan in the 2nd century A.D. and Indian civilization got firmly rooted in the soil during the Gupta period.

**Champa (Annam)**

Since 214 B.C., the whole of Tonkin and Annam as far as Cape Varella was under the Chinese. South of Cape Varella in the district of Khan Hos and Binh Thuan lived a small group of Chams, who constantly harassed the southern frontier of the Chinese possessions. Chams were encouraged in their incursions by the local population, who were their kinsmen and were under the yoke of Chinese. Sometimes these incursions took a serious turn. According to Chinese sources, the State of Champa was founded in 137 A.D., when Kiu-lien (or Chams), a barbarious tribe from beyond their frontier, conquered and destroyed Chinese forts. All these territories were reconquered by Chinese in 138 A.D. but by 192 A.D. taking advantage of troubles of the Han dynasty, one Cham (inhabitant of Siang-Lin) killed the officer in charge of the city and proclaimed himself the king of Lin-ye, a term

50 Hindu Civilization in Far-East, pp. 207-8.

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used for Champa afterwards.[51]

The Rock Inscription[52] No. I at Champa was erected by a king belonging to the family of Śri-mara. According to the inscription, Kaundinyas founded the state in the 2nd or 3rd Century A D. The new spirit in the Chams at the close of the 2nd Century A.D. and their successful raids into the Chinese territories, coincided with the introduction of new elements in her politics, viz., the Indian colonists. This resulted in complete cultural fusion between the two races[53] by the 15th Century.

The establishment of a Hinduised rule in the 2nd and 3rd Century A.D. testifies to the fact that India and Champa had trade relations of long duration earlier.

Kaundinyas were brought to southern India from northern India by Satavahanas. Satavahanas were a naval power and their coins were marked with the figure of a ship. They were very keen to keep West-Coast and East-Coast maritime provinces under them. It may be assumed that their migration to Annam, and establishment of a kingdom defying the Chinese were politically connected with Satavahanas.[54]

The inscription[55] mentions 'Bhadra Varman,' as a very powerful

51 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, pp. 115 ff.
Champa, pp. 16-20.
Chama word is Sanskritised name of the ethnic name of the local population Chama (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 244).
Champa is situated on main sea route from India and Java to China and at the foot of spice bearing mountains (D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 123).

52 Champa, p. 20, iii, p. I. श्री-मार-राजकुल-व— (10) R.C. Majumdar has dated the inscription 2nd or 3rd Century A.D. on palaeographic grounds. The date coincides with Śṛ-mara who ruled over Kauthara in the same Century. (*Ibid.*, p. 20).
Vayu Purana's (Ch. 48) Aṅgadvipa is perhaps Champa (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 244).

53 Champa, 20.
From 2nd century A.D. to 15th Century A.D. Chams never played any part in the politics of their country. They submitted completely to their politically Indian masters, and adopted Indian culture, habits and manners. Indian colonies in the Far-East, p. 115.

54 K.P. Jayaswal, I.H., p. 244.
According to the incriptions Kaundinya married Soma, the daughter of the king of serpents. Their progeny ruled Champa (Champa, iii, pp. 18,23).

55 Champa, p. 27, iii, pp. 23-27.
Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 117.
Kaundinya defeated Chinese in 248-210 A.D. and took the capital of Hanoi.

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king in an unbroken line of kings. His full name was Maharaja-Sri Bhadra Varman. He ruled over northern and central portion of the kingdom, the province of Amaravati and Vijay, and probably over the southern province of Panduranga also. He constructed a temple of Śiva and named the image Bhadreshvara Swamin. This Śiva temple became the national Sanctuary of the Chams.

From 413 to 420 A.D. it was a disturbed period in the history of Champa. In this period, King Ganga Raja abdicated the throne in order to spend his last days on the banks of River Ganga in India [56] The departure of the king was followed by civil war and anarchy, which ended in 420 by the succession of Fan Yang Mai.[57]

Yang Mai died after a few years and his son also assumed the name of his father Yang Mai II started the usual attacks on the Chinese and provoked their Emperor in 431 by sending 100 or more vessels to pillage the coast of Nhut Nam and Cu'u Chou. The Chinese army by land and sea attacked Champa. The Chinese fleet defeated Yang Mai II but could not follow up the victory because of bad weathers. But again in 446, the Chinese attacked and gave a crushing defeat to the king of Champa. Chinese entered the capital city Champa and obtained a rich booty of very precious objects. All the temples were sacked and their statues were melted and about 100,000 pounds of pure gold was secured. The Chinese victory was complete. Yang Mai II died of broken heart[58] in 446.

Yang Mai II was succeeded by his son and grandson. The latter

Whereupon the Han king concluded a treaty and ceded the whole of Cheo-ling. The next king Hiong (270-80) extended the kingdom of Champa to the North, at the cost of Chinese, who concluded a treaty with them in 280 A.D. His powerful successor 'Yi' died in 331 or 336 A.D. In 384 A.D. he sent an embassy in Chinese court. From 359-377 there was a period of depression. Bhadra Varman (380-413 A.D.) is supposed to have revived the offensive. He and his family bore Pallava title Dharma Maharaja (K.P. Jayaswal, H.I., p. 224; Champa, pp. 22-5).

56 Champa, pp. 23-5.
Gangaraja was Bhadra Varman's son (Champa, Inscription No. 12).

57 Champa, p. 29.
Fan Yang Mai is said to be Bhadra Varman's son, probably by a mother of inferior rank (*Ibid.*, p. 29).

58 Champa, pp. 29-31.
Hindu Colonies in the Far-East, p. 119.

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(Fan Chen Tcheng) followed a policy of peace and sent tributes to the Chinese emperor in 455, 458 and 472 A.D.[59]

Two kings Vijaya Varman and Rudra Varman (534 A.D.) maintained peaceful relations with China, though internal trouble continued in Champa. Inscription No. 7 tells that Rudra Varman belonged to Brahma-Kṣatriya family. The famous temple of Mahadeva called Bhadreṣvaraswami after its builder Bhadra Varman was burnt by fire.[60]

The inscription No. 7 further tells that Rudra Varman's son Praśastadharma, took the name of Sambhu Varman at the time of his coronation. He re-built the temple of Bhadra Varman and named the image Sambhu Bhadreṣvara adding his own name to that of original founder. Sambhu Varman stopped the tribute to the weak Imperial Chen dynasty. When Sui dynasty was established (595 A.D), Chinese emperor invaded Champa and gave crushing defeats to Sambhu Varman in 605 A.D. The Chinese sacked Champa and carried away golden tablets of eighteen kings and 1350 Buddhist works. Among the captives were some musicians from Fu-Nan who carried the Indian musical Art to Chinese Imperial court.[61] Ganga Raja's dynasty ruled until 757 A.D. when it ended with the death of Rudra Varman II.

Brave Indians, who planted their banner in far-off lands maintained India's honour and dignity for more than 1500 years, "At last vanished into the limbo of oblivion. But the torch of civilization which they carried dispelled the darkness of ages and still throws its lurid light over the pages of history."[62]

*Civilization in Champa*

*Administrative System*: Broadly speaking the administrative system

59 Hindu Colonies in the Far-East, p. 119.
Champa, pp. 31-2.
The History of Champa is reconstructed from Chinese sources, hence the names of Champa kings are Chinese derivations (D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 124).

60 Champa, pp. 35-6.
Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 120.

61 Champa, 37-8, 48.
Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 121.

62 Champa, p. 146.

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in Champa was based on the Indian form of Government. Administration was divided into three classes—Civil, Military and religious.

Civil administration was under the Chief Ministers, who had three grades of officials under them.[63] The military administration was under two Chief officers, the Captain of the Guards and the Senapati.[64] The religious establishment was managed by high priests, the Brahmanas, Astrologers and masters of Ceremonies.[65]

*Justice*: Hindu Laws guided the policy of Justice. According to inscription No 65, King Indravarmadeva "followed the eighteen titles of law prescribed by Manu; King Harivarmadeva IV also "maintained all the uniformity of (procedure?) according to Inscription No. 62. And King Jaya Indravarmadeva VII was "well-versed in all the Dharmaśastras notably in Naradiya and Bhārgaviya" (Ins. No. 81).[66]

*Religion*

In all the countries wherever Indians settled or traded with, religion has been the most important factor in the assimilation of Indian Civilization. The Hindu Kings of Champa had often to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Chinese emperors, and on the Chinese off and on defeated and devastated their lands. But the Chinese had to give way before the onward march of the Indian civilization.

Neo Brahmanical religion flourished in Champa, which recognised Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva as the Chief gods. With the introduction of new literature of Puranas, elaborate rituals, ceremonies, hosts of myths and legends were associated with the gods. These gods formed the centre of philosophical speculations and much wealth and luxury was lavished upon them. In the course of time Brahmanism triumphed over Buddhism, which had played very dominating part in India.[67]

The Inscription of Champa narrate the various forms of Śiva,

63 Tang Pao 1910, p. 194, ft. n. 6.
64 Champa, II Insc. No. 26, 35, 65.
Indians introduced Elephants as an important part of the army which surprised even the Chinese (Champa, p. 152).
65 Champa, Inscription No. 65.
66 Champa, ii, pp. 171, 165, 198.
67 Champa, pp. 167-9.

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Vishnu and Brahma.[68]

In addition to the Hindu trinity (Śiva, Vishnu and Brahma), the lesser gods of Hindu pantheon were also quite important. Inscription Nos. 24 and 31 recognise the importance of these gods.[69]

Divine sages and Siddhas (Ins. Nos. 24, 35, 46), Vidyadharas (23), Yakśas (23, 31), Kinnaras (24) and evil spirits also figure prominently in the mythology.[70]

Not only the Hindu gods and goddesses but also their vāhanas, e.g., Śiva's Nandi and Vishnu's Garuḍa, were known to the people of Champa.[71]

*Buddhism* had a fairly stronghold on the population of Champa. There are eight inscriptions (Nos. 28, 31, 37, 43, 93, 103, 123, 126) referring specially to Buddhism and are very informative about the religion.

The important place held by Buddhism is further corroborated by the archaeological remains of Champa. Dong Dueng inscription refers to the construction of a Buddhist temple and a monastery. The image of Second Buddha found here is 5 ft. high while the Bronze

68 Champa, Chapters II, III, IV narrate Śiva forms, myths etc. alongwith the prevalent Shaivism. Ch. V. tells about Vishnu and Vaishnavism, and Ch. VI deals with Brahma and the Hindu trinity.

One 8th century inscription records, Mukh-linga was established by a king named Vichitrasagara. (Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 167).

69 Insc. 24: नमोऽस्तु सर्वदेवेभ्य: ···।

Insc. 31: I श्री लक्ष्मीन्द्र लोकेश्वरायं (नमः···)

II··· सुर (वर्) व्णैर्य्यक्षगन्धर्व हेत्यैत्यैर् ।

IV··· नित्यञ्जानाति शम्भु: ···।

VII··· स्थापितं लिङ्गमेत ···।

VIII··· स्वर्गस्थिता ये सुरा···।

IX···देवेन्द्र···।

IX··· शंभुञ्जानाति ।

X··· संन्तानं सर्वदेवा:···etc.

B IV··· इमंच परमं लोके बुद्धसन्तानजं परम् ।

अहं लोकेश्वरं कर्तुं जगतां स्यां विमुक्तेये । etc.

70 Champa, p. 203.

71 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 169.

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image standing Buddha is recognised as the most artistic representation of Buddha in Champa.[72]

Peculiar Buddha figures of Buddha seated crossed-legged on the body of a serpent and protected by seven hoods, and terracota Buddhas protected by Nagas and seated between two Stupas belong to Champa.[73]

*Literature*

On the evidence of inscriptions, it can be said that Sanskrit literature, particularly kavyas were studied upto the 10th Century A.D. in Champa. Sanskrit was the language of the learned even at the cost of their mother-tongue. Not only imported books in Sanskrit were studied but even new books were written in Sanskrit[74] (Insc. 74). King Bhadra Varman (5th Century A.D) was supposed to have been well-versed in Vedas (No. 4), King Jaya Indra Varmadeva VII was a scholar of Grammar, Astrology, Mahayana philosophy and Dharma-Śastras (notably Naradiya and Bhargaviya) (Insc. 81).

Inscriptions (Nos. 41, 74, 23, 39, 18) allude to Ramayana and Mahabharata episodes e.g. 41 describes the glories of Rama, 74 narrates the glories of Rama and Krishna, 12 valour of Dhanañjaya, and 23 the son of Pandu and Inscription 18 resembles the Anuśasanapurva of Mahabharata.

The literature of various sects such a Śaiva, Vaiṣnavas, including Purānas and Manusmriti etc. seems to have been studied thoroughly.

All the Sanskrit inscriptions are hereby influenced by kavya and prose romance. The writers seem to be well acquainted with meters, and styles of poetry and prose writing. Inscription No. 72 and 74 refer to Purānas.

Not only Śaiva and Vaiṣnava literature but Buddhist literature seems to have also been very popular. The very fact that the Chinese general carried away 1350 Buddhist works in 605 A.D. is enough an evidence.

72 & 73 Champa, Ch. VIII, pp. 208 ff.
Buddha in Champa was known by various names such as Jina, Lokanatha, Lokeshwara, Sugata Sakyamuni, Amitabha, Vajrapaṇi, Vairochana and Pramuditalokeśvara (Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 170).

74 Champa, p. 231.

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*Society*

Though Hindus tried to build up a society of the orthodox Hindu-type in their places of settlement, certain modifications were a must, because of the already existing traditions, manners and customs.

Inscription No. 65 mentions the division of people into four castes Brahmanas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiṣyas and Śudras. But this division seems to have only been theoretical as Inscription No. 31 mentions only Kṣatriyas and Brahmanas, No. 25 refers only to Kṣatriyas and No. 65 refers to both Brahmanas and Ksatriyas while Śudras and Vaiṣyas are referred to only in a solitary inscriptions.

Brahmanas occupied a very high position in the society of Champa, but their domination over kings was less than that of Indian kings.

*Art and Architecture*

The Art of Champa was derived from that of India and was not of indigenous growth. The ancient pieces of sculpture show the scanty dress of the people. The upper part of the females and male body is nude. As a rule men covered the lowest part with a short dress which looks like drawers and women with a long dress which resembles petticoats. The Ascetics and the servants often figure as dressed in an Indian 'Languti'.

According to the Chinese evidence and the sculptures, only the upper classes used shoes while the common people walked bare-footed.[75]

*Marriage*

The Champa marriage ceremony details recorded by Chinese, recall those of India.[76]

Sati system of India prevailed in among very high families. Odoric de Pordenone[77], writes about Champa. "When a man dies in this country, his wife is burnt along with him because they say that it is only right and proper that the wife should live with the husband in the other world."

75 Champa, pp. 220 ff.
Hindu colonies in the Far-East, 183 ff.
76 Champa, p. 226.
77 Toung Pao, 1911, pp. 600-1.

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*Funeral* ceremony in both Champa and India was the same : burning the body on the pyre.[78] Ordinary people performed the funeral the same day while in the cases of kings and nobles, it was done after seven and three days respectively.

*Architecture and Sculpture*

Though they are not the splendid edifices of Cambodia and Java the remains found in Champa indicate the developed artistic sense and skill of her people. As in India so the Art in Champa, was the handmaid of religion.

The number of such temples and religious structures which tell us about the forms and characteristics of their art, is fairly large. R.C. Majumdar[79], has divided them in three major groups: Kayson, Dong Duong and Poe-Nagar.

*General Characteristics of the Champa Temple*[80]

Though the details differ, all the temples of Champa have essentially the same characteristics: They generally face the East and are situated on such an eminent place that they are visible from distance.

The image of god is placed in a cella or sanctuary with a square base and a pyramidal roof. Sometimes it has a subsidiary building running from east to west, to serve as the porch or Naṭamandir.

The building has two rooms with communicating door. The rooms are lighted only by the windows excepting western room, which has a door opening towards the north. "Sometimes there are subsidiary sanctuaries built in the same line from north to south as the principal sanctuary."

All these buildings are enclosed by a wall, and the only access to them is through a gate tower towards the east.

The interior of the sanctuary is a square chamber, having plain but polished vertical walls. Those are niches in the wall perhaps to serve the purpose of lamp stands. The idol is placed in the centre of the room on a platform.

Externally, the sanctuary has a square tower with a Śikhara. There

78 Champa, p. 230.
79 Champa, p. 235.
80 *Ibid*, pp. 236-246.

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are three types of Śikharas, but the normal type consists of series of four storeys which diminish as they rise, and are crowned by a curvilinear pyramidal stone slab.

The characteristic feature of *Cham temples* is false doorways which mark the centre of each wall other than that which contain the real doorway.

The temples in Champa are made of brick though stone slabs are used to add strength and decorative purposes. The door frames, lintel, angular pieces etc. are generally made of stone.

1. *Mayson Group* of temples belong to Śiva cult. They are ranged between 6th to 12th centuries on the bases of style and inscription. Śambhuvarman's buildings style is of 6th and 7th century A.D.[81]

2. *Dong Duong buildings* : The Buddhist temple and monastery built by King Jaya Indravarman in 875 A.D. inscription No. 31 and 36 and the discovery of Buddhist images show that buildings were Buddhist temples.[82]

*Poe-Nagar Group*

This is the only very well preserved group[83] in all its parts and is a good specimen of Champa temples. A large number of inscriptions (28 in number) have been discovered in the ruins of Poe-Nagar. Some of these inscriptions refer to the building of temples at Poe-Nagar. It appears that a wooden temple containing a Mukha linga was constructed at a very early date, which was burnt down in 774 A.D. Inscription No. 22 says that King Satya Varman built another temple and installed therein a new Mukhalinga.

*Cave Architecture*

Though cave architecture[84] did not make much progress in Champa yet five caves of simple design are known to us.

Phu Duoc (near Bong Son) cave was supposed to be the residence of a hermit.

The marble mountains near Hoa Qua have several caves around a Central hall. One of the caves' entrance has a sculptured balustrade at the entrance.

81 Champa, pp. 247-49.
82 Champa, p. 250.
83 Champa, pp. 231-53.
84 Champa, pp. 259-60.

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The massive caves of Phang Nhor (near Bo Trach) contains sculpture, an image of Buddha, and the word Śariputra appears in one inscription. It contains 97 inscriptions and was probably a Buddhist cave.

The cave of Chua Hang in the village of Bo Khe near Bo Trach is a small one and contains a small statue of Buddha.

Some caves in the village of Lac Son were converted into Buddhist sanctuaries by the Chams.

About 36 inscriptions have been discovered from these caves.

*Sculpture*[85]

The main defect of Indian sculptures (lack of accuracy in physical details) is visible in the sculptures of Champa also. *Human figures* in Champa are a part of decorative elements in the temples. The images are mostly of gods and goddesses or of kings and queens. The most important images are (a) Standing images of Śiva in Meyson (A. 4. and C), (b) Skanda standing on his peacock, (c) the figure of seated Buddha in Dong Duong III, having striking resemblance with the features of Indian Buddha, viz. "the folds of dress, the Urnā, the Uṣniṣa and the arrangement of hair in schematic curls".

*Animal Figures*[86]

Certain animals as Vāhanas of gods occur on bas-relief scenes. They formed an important part of decoration in the primitive art. The most important figures are rhinoceros, lion, elephant, Gajasimha, Makara, Naga, Garuḍa, bull, horse, hare, deer, goose and peacock. They are very near natural figures. The Monkey in Meyson Temple D, and the head of a lion in Myson K. are of special interest. Gradually, animal sculptures lost importance in the decoration of buildings.

*Ornamental Decorations*

The Artists of Cham have excelled in floral decorations. Most of

85 Champa, pp. 263-4.
86 Champa, p. 268.

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the foliage patterns occur on pillars and pilasters and are sometimes in the shape of scrolls sometimes as in India "The whole scroll is deeply sunk and very clearly and carefully carved".[78]

*Painting*

Only one specimen of the art is available in Po Rome. The motiffs resemble the sculpture designs and are very pleasing.[88]

*Origin of Cham Art*

The Art of Architecture in Champa according to R.C. Majumdar, has its origin in India. According to him eastern part of India, has played a very important role in imparting civilization to south-east Asia, and Indian civilization has influenced that of Champa. The origin of Cham style is traced to Indian temples at Badami, Conjeeveram and Mamallapuram. This part of India was the nearest sea route to Champa. The Chams did not imitate the art blindly but added new elements of their own. H. Parmentier in his article 'origine commune des Architectures Hindous dansl 'inde et en Extreme Orient'' published in Etudes Asiatiques'', derives the Cham temples not from Mamallapuram Raths or similar structure, but from primitive Buddhist structures, specially the many storied Sangharamas built of wood or perishable materials.[89]

Thus, according to H. Permentier,[90] even the primitive art in Champa was affected by Buddhism and was an imitation of Indian Buddhist Art.

Champa owes its civilization, art, architecture, literature and customs to India.

87 Champa, p. 269.
88 Champa, p. 271.
89 Champa, pp. 273-4.
90 A note attached in the end of the book 'Champa' tells that after the whole referred book was printed R.C. Majumdar came across the article of H. Parmentier.

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**Suvarnadvipa**

*Malaya*

Several states in Malaya Peninsula seem to have been established before the rise of Guptas. According to Chinese records, the state of Lang kia Su probably in the Isthmus of Ligor was established in 2nd Century A.D.

According to the story preserved in these annals, a prince or a member of the royal family incurred the wrath of the king and fled to India, where he married the daughter of an Indian king. When the king of Lang-kia-Su died, the prince was recalled from India and coronated as king. After ruling for twenty years he died and was succeeded by his son Bhagdato (Bhagadatt) who sent an ambassador named Aditya to China in 515.[91]

As it lay on the route from India to Siam, Cambodia, Annam and even to further East, there is ample evidences in Malaya of Indian settlements and other vestiges. At Takua-pa and along the trans-peninsular route to the Bay of Bandon and in the province Wellesley, a large number of ruins of shrines, images, Sanskrit inscriptions etc. have been found. They are written in Indian alphabets of 4th and 5th Century. One of the inscriptions records a gift and prayer by a great sailor Buddha Gupta or Raktamṛittika[92] (Red clay).

91 R.C. Majumdar, Hindu Colonies in the Far-East, p. 17.
Suvarnadvipa I. 73.
Malaya peninsula is a long narrow strip of territory forming most Southernly extremity of the main land of Asia. It has Siam in its North, China sea and gulf of Siam in the East, straight on the South and the bay of Malacca and the Bay of Bengal on the west. The shores of the peninsula are studded with islands. Langhwi and Penang on the West and Singapur, Batan and Bintang on the South are important to remember. (Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 2).

92 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, pp. 18,19.
Suvarnadvipa, Ch. V, pp. 65 ff.
Takua-pa was the first landing stage of Indian traders. From here lay the route by land over the mountain range to Bay of Bandan and then by land or Sea to Siam Cambodia, Annam and further East. It is Ptolemy's Takkola. (R.C. Majumdar, Hindu colonies in the Far-East, pp. 18-19).
Raktamṛittā means Red-clay and has been identified with Rangamati, twelve miles south of Murshidabad in Bengal (*Ibid*, p. 19). Some of the scholars locate it on the gulf of Siam in the region of Patalung (Coedes Etats, p 89, quoted by R.C. Majumdar vide Cl. Age, ft. n. 2, p. 638).
The pillars of some Buddhist temple found from Northern port of province

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Two such inscriptions refer to Buddhist creed and prove the spread of Buddhism in this region. One clay tablet contains three stanzas in Sanskrit perhaps part of a sutra of Madhyamika school of Mahayana. These verses embody the Mahayana philosophy and are found in Chinese translation of the Sāgramati-paripṛichchhā.[93]

I-Tsing (7 C.) records that the whole coast of Farther India from Suvarnabhumi or Burma to China and also of the islands of the Malaya Archipelago was studded with prosperous Indian colonies and naval stations. These naval bases were used by oceanliners constantly plying in the eastern waters between India and China. I-Tsing has referred to nearly ten colonies where Indian religion, customs and manners prevailed. They included Śri Bhoja in Sumatra, Kalinga in Java, Mahasin in Borneo and the Islands of Bali, and Bhojapura, which all had Indian names.[94]

Archaeological discoveries have proved the existence of Hindu civilization in remote centres of Malaya peninsula, "such as Chumphon, Caiya, the valley of the river Bandon, Nakhon, Sri Dhammarat (Ligor), Yala (near Patani) and Selensing (in Pahang) on the eastern coast, and Malacca, province Wellesley Takua-pa, and the common delta of the rivers Lanyu and Tenasserim on the western."[95]

Ligor or Nakhon Śri Dhammarat seems to be very old and important. According to tradition it was founded by a descendent of Aśoka who fled from Magadha. Accidentally, the vessel he had embarked at Dantapura was wrecked on the coast of Malaya.[96]

According to archeological discoveries "It was essentially Buddhist

Willesley, on the strength of inscriptions on them can be dated 4th or 5th C. A.D. (R.C. Majumdar, Hindu colonies in the F.E., p. 18).

93 R.C. Majumdar, p. 19.
The brick-built remains of Buddhist shrine at Keddah may be dated approximately as of 4th or 5th century A.D. (*Ibid.*, p. 18).

94 I-Tsing by Taka-kusu. These colonies were used by the passengers and travellers as exchanging-stations. Several passengers like I-Tsing came directly to Tamralipti while others like Fa-hein would halt at Ceylon to re-ship themselves for Bengal. I-Tsing has further recorded the visit of Ta-tcheng-teng, who came from China via Ceylon and lived in Tamralipti in a monastery. One, Tao-lin, master of the law, came by way of Java and Nicobar. (Indian Shipping p. 172).

95 R.C. Majumdar, Hindu colonies in the Far-East, pp. 19-20.

96 Gerini, Researches in Ptolemy's Geog., pp. 107-8 (quoted by R.C. Majumdar vide Champa, Intro., p. xii ft. n. 3).
Dantipura has been identified with modern Dantan on the Kosai (Cunningham's Geog., p. 705).

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colony which probably built a great stupa of Nakhon, Sri Dhammarat and part of fifty temples which sourrounded it. A little to the north was the colony of Caiya, which appears to have been at first Brahmanical, and then Buddhist. These two groups of colonies were agriculturists. The others, which occupied Selensing, Panga, Puket, and Takua-pa, prospered by the exploitation of tin and gold mines....

...The persons of an Indian caste of features are common on the west coast near Takua-pa, while colonies of Brahmanas of Indian descent survive at Nakhon Sri Dhammarat at Patalung and trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malaya peninsula."[97]

The discoveries at Seling Sing (Parak) or not of less value. A gold ornament bearing the figure of Vishnu on his Garuḍa has been unearthed here. Moreover the discovery of a seal engraved with the name of a Hindu prince Sri Vishnu Varman in characters of 5th century A.D.[98] has led the historians to make further probes into the trade or political domination of the area by Indians.

*Sumatra* is referred to in Puranas[99] as 'Saumya Dvipa'. It is sometimes called Yava-dvipa or Bali-dvipa as well. It is the most westerly and next to Borneo the largest island of Malaya Archipelago.[100]

As it is situated midway between India and China, it must have had important harbours on its eastern coast as early as the First Century A.D. if not later. One Buddha image of Amaravati school has been found at Palembang.

97 Bulletin de la Commission Archaeologique de I'Indu-China, 1909, pp. 1845-; Indian Art and letters, London, ix. 1-31 (quoted by R.C. Majumdar, vide Cl. Age, ft. n. I, p. 639).

98 R.C. Majumdar, Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 18.
The kings of different S-East Asian countries had started copying Indian names. This tradition is still lingering though most of the countries have become independent.

99 Vishnu Pu, II. Sec. 3: "सौम्यो गन्धर्वयस्त्वथ वरूण:"
Vayu Pu., I. 45.
Brahm Pu., sec. 19.
Brahmanda Pu., Sec. 16.
Markanday Pu., Sec. 54.
Agni Pu., Sec. 119.
It is named 'Saumya' in Puranas perhaps because its foundation was laid by Saumya Vanshis (Purana Parishilan (Hindi), p. 311).
Bali-dvipa is a neighbour of Java as well as Sumatra (Suvarnadvipa ch. ix, pp. 132 ff). Sumatra (Suvarnabhumi is mentioned in Jatakas and Mahavamşa.

100 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 22.

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Palembang or Śri Vijay was the earliest site of Hindu settlement. It was founded in or before the 4th Century A.D. and it became very prominent towards the close of the 7th Century A.D.[101] By this time another Hindu kingdom named Malaya (Modern Jambi) was established after conquest and political domination over the neighbouring island of Banka was also established. In 684 A.D. it was ruled over by Buddhist king named Sri Jayanaśa (or Jayanaga). In 686 A.D. the king (or is successor) send expedition to Java. The proclamation issued by him at the time, engaved on stone, is available to us.[102]

I-Tsing (673 A.D.)[103] says that Sri Vijay was an important centre of Buddhist learning. It had flourishing Indian religious practices, Sanskrit learning and Indian customs and manners. It was also an important trading centre between India and China and there were regular sailing to Kwan-Tung.

An inscription[104] discovered at Lagor (Malaya Peninsula) tells us that the Buddhist king of Sri Vijaya had by 775 A.D. extended his political supremacy over the Malaya Peninsula as far as the Bay of Bandon. According to Chinese annals,[105] several embassies were exchanged between China and Sumatra between 454 and 741 A.D.

*Borneo* is known as Varuṇadvipa in Puranas.[106] It is the largest, but a thinly populated, island of Malaya Archipelago. According to

101 Suvarnadvipa. Ch VII., pp. 116 ff.

102 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 23.
It records severe punishment to the rebels and all sorts of blessings to the loyal.
"Before 5th century A.D. the greater part of the area, so far as accessible by sea, had been more or less Hinduised, and rulers with Indian names ending in the patronymic varman and using an Indian alphabet, were established in Champa, Cambodia, Sumatra and even Borneo. Traces of Indian culture has been found in Philippines also (A.K. Coomaraswamy, H. of Indian and Indonesian Art, p. 156).

103 I-Tsing, Taka-kusu.

104 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 23.

105 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

106 Vishnu Purana, II. Ch. 3 (Varuna).
Vayu. Pu., I Sec. 45.
Brahm. Pu., Sec. 19.
Brahmanda Pu., Sec. 19.
Markanday Pu., Sec. 54.
Agni Pu., Sec. 118.
Varuṇa was the king of demons (Asuras). He was the Adhipati of the dvipa and hence the name Varuna-dvipa (Purana Parishilan (Hindi), p. 312).

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inscriptions, Hindus established themselves here by the 4th Century though it was the home of head-hunting Dayaks.[107] Seven Sanskrit inscriptions[108] have been found at Muara Kaman, which was an important ancient seaport on the Mahakam river. Four Sanskrit inscriptions can be dated 400 A.D. They refer to King Mula Varman, son of Aśvavarman and grandson of Kaundinya, and his rich donations and sacrifices. The inscriptions are engraved on stone pillars, which were originally Yupas (sacrificial pillars) set up by the Brahmanas to commemorate the great sacrifice called Bahu Suvarṇakam (immense gold). King Mula Varman had performed this and many other sacrifices and ceremonies called Mahadanas such as Kalpa Briksha, Bhumi-dana, Gosahasrika, Jaldhenu, Grihita-dhenu, Tila dana and Kapila-dana. He made rich gifts of 20,000 cows to Brahmanas in the holy field of Vaprakeśvara.[109]

In addition to these inscriptions, a beautiful bronze image of Buddha of Gupta style has been found at Kota Bangun in the district of Koti. East Borneo has scattered influences of Indian Culture including a cave of Kombeng found on the east of the Upper coast of Telen river. The cave consists of two chambers. In the back chamber, twelve sandstone images, pieces of carved stones and a few half-decayed iron-wood beams have been found. Most of the images seem to have been brought from elsewhere and stored here for safety. The images are of both Hindu and Buddhist gods including Buddha, Śiva, Ganesa, Nandi, Agastya, Nandiśvara, Brahma, Skanda and Mahākali.[110]

The images and inscriptions prove that Buddhism and Hinduism both flourished in Borneo along with Sanskrit literature and Indian Art. This is borne out by I-Tsing as well. His memoirs record that Hindu religion, customs, manners and civilization of India were in a flourishing state in Java, Sumatra and Borneo.

The inscriptions belong to Gupta period. Bronze images were in Gupta style. God and goddesses of the Puranas were carved and scul-

107 Suvarnadvipa, Ch. VIII, pp. 125 ff.

108 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, pp. 24 ff.

109 Suvarṇadvipa Ch. VIII, pp. 125 ff.
Journal of Greater India society, Calcutta, XII. 14. Kuṇduṅga of the inscription is a form of Kaundinga, though historians have divergent views. (R.C. Majumdar, Cl. Age, p. 643).

110 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 25.
The antiquities secreted in the case must have been brought, from the original site of a temple, probably in the Valley of the Mahakam river.

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ptured in stone. It may be construed that whatever be the date of Indian settlements in the island, the credit for popularising Indian civilization in the dvipa goes to the Gupta period.

*Java*

The most glorious achievement recorded in History is the Hindu colonisation of Java.[111]

According to the Chronicles of Java,[112] Hindus from the Kalinga coast colonised the Island in the 1st Century A.D. accidentally. The local tradition records that in the 75th year of the Christian Era, a band of Hindu navigators sailed from Kalinga. Instead of plying within the usual limits of the Bay of Bengal, they bodly ventured into the open limitless expanse of Indian ocean and arrived at the island of Java. Here they planted a colony and built towns and cities. Eliphiston remarks, "A Numerous body of Hindus from Kalinga civilized the inhabitants", and fixes the date of their arrival as 75 A.D. This is proved beyond doubt by the numerous and magnificent remains that still exist in Java and by the fact that, although the common language is 'Malaya', the sacred language of historical and political compositions and of most inscriptions is a dialect of Sanskrit.[113]

The Java legends, preserved in the inscriptions,[114] also bear out the connection between the Kalinga coast and Java. Dr. Bhandarkar writes[115] that certain inscriptions show Magadhi element, which reached Java from Sumatra and Sumatra itself from the coast of either

111 Java is one of the largest of Sunda Islands in the Malaya Archipelago. In the North it is separated from Borneo by shallow Java sea, on the South it has Indian Ocean which stretches as far as Antarctic pole without a single patch of land, on the east a narrow strait separates it from Bali and to the N-West Sunda strait separate Java from Sumatra. (Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 20).

112 Champa, Intro., p. XII.

113 History of India, Cowell's Edition, p. 185.
Crawford 820 A.D. held, that Hindu influence in Java came from Kalinga or N.E. Madras (Indian shipping, p. 149).
"Indian Adventurers sailing out to colonise Java" (Photo reproduced from Indian Shipping is attached herewith).

114 Indian Antiquary, V. 314; VI 355 referred to in Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, part I, 496.

115 Eastern passage of Sakas vide Journal, Bombay Branch of R.A.S., XVII.

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Bengal or Orissa. "The Hindu settlement of Sumatra was almost entirely from the east coast of India, and that Bengal, Orissa and Maslipatam had a large share in colonising both Java and Cambodia cannot be doubted."[116]

It may be construed that the first Indian settlement in Java was in the First Century A.D. and that it was done by Indians of the Kalinga Coast. Javanese tradition also refers to the foundation of the Hindu state in 56 A.D. Javanese era starts from 78 A.D. Ptolemy in the 2nd Century A.D. refers to the island as Javadian (Javadvipa), which shows that the Indian name of the island dates much earlier. Hindus must have established themselves in Java by the beginning of the 2nd Century A.D. for in 132 A.D. the Indian King Deva Varman sent an embassy to the King of Java.[117]

The earliest known date of Hindu civilization in Java is the 4th Century A.D. when Fa-hein[118] found it entirely peopled by Hindus. The pilgrim stayed here for five months and has described the country as a stronghold of Brahmanical religion. According to this Chinese visitor, Indian literature was carried to Java and led to the development of Indo-Javanese literature.

Four Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in Java. They name Purna Varman and his two ancestors : father called Rajadhiraja (king of kings) and grandfather called Rajarshi (Royal sage). Purna Varman's Capital was Taruma and he ruled here for twenty-two years. Rajadhiraja is famous for digging a canal which passed through his capital (Taruna) and reached the sea. Purna Varman also dug a canal called Gomati river and donated one thousand cows to the Brahmanas.

On palaeographical grounds the inscriptions are dated 5th or 6th century A.D. I-Tsing (673 A.D.) records that Java had flourishing Indian religion, Sanskrit language, customs and manners.[119]

116 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part I, p. 493.

117 Suvarnadvipa, I. Ch. VI, pp. 91 ff.
Hindu colonies in the Far-East, pp. 21-22.
In Central Java, there was a Hindu kingdom called Kalinga or Ho-ling by the Chinese (Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 22).

118 Legge., pp. 90, 113.

119 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, p. 22.
Suvarnadvipa I, pp. 91 ff.
Cl. Age., p. 641.
Vak-Gup. Age, p. 315.
I-Tsing, Taka-kusu.

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*Buddhism in Java*

In the early 5th Century A.D. the influence of Buddhism was also felt in Java. According to Chinese records, Guna Varman a Kashmiri monk went to Java[120] on a mission. He was successful in converting the queen-mother to Buddhism first. Gradually the king at the persuasions of his mother adopted Buddhism, and in the course of time the whole country adopted the faith of Buddha.

In Central Java, the kingdom of Ho-ling or Kalinga (thus called by the Chinese) was a strong centre of Buddhism in the 7th Century A.D.[121]

According to another Javanese legend the migration of Indian and Sakas started from Gujarat in 75 A.D. It may be due to Sakas undue control over them.

In the beginning of 5th century the Saka kingdom of Saurastra or Kathiawar was conquered by Chandra Gupta II and Brahmanism then supplanted Buddhism as the dominant state religion. According to H.B. Havell,[122] "The Buddhist art tradition went with Saka immigrants into Java, where they reached their highest expression in the magnificent sculpture of Borobudur." According to 2 Javanese chronicles, a ruler from Gujarat forewarned in 603 A.D. of coming destruction of his kingdom, sent his son with five thousand followers including cultivators, artisans, warriors, physicians and writers in six large and a hundred small vessels towards Java. After great difficulty they reached the western coast of Java and built the town of Mendang Kumulan. The son sent for more men. As a result 2000 more men including Carvers in stone and brass, reached Java. This further established trade relations with the Gujarat port. The foundation laid of temples which were known afterwards as Prambanam and Borobudur, the grandest specimen of Buddhist Art in the

120 Bagchi, India and China, p. 39.
P.N. Bose, Indian teachers in China, p. 75.
(Guna Varman first went to Ceylon and preached the Dharma, then he went to Java and from there he reached Nankin (China) in 431 A.D.) He belonged to the royal family of Kashmir.

121 Hindu Colonies in the Far-East, p. 22.

122 H.B. Havell, Indian sculpture and painting, p. 113.

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whole of Asia. These legendary facts are probably connected with the political condition of India, from mid-sixth to mid-7th Century A.D.[123]

"In comparing the relative importance of Western and Eastern strains in Java, it is to be remembered that the Western element has been overlaid by a late Bengal and Kalinga layer of refugees from Tibetan conquest of Bengal in the 8th Century and during the 9th and later Centuries by bands of Buddhists, withdrawing from a land where their religion was no longer honoured."[124]

The migration of Buddhists to Jawa gave Suvarṇadvipa a status and importance with other Buddhist countries and India. Buddhist scholars and pilgrims visited the land; Fa-hein, and Dharmapala of Kanchi who was a professor at Nalanda in the 7th Century. They studied Buddhist literature. The discovery of important Buddhist texts, the sculptures of Borobudur temples, and other religious monuments, pre-suppose a wide range of knowledge in its various branches.

The later phase of Mahayana Buddhism of India is also seen in Java: (a) The adoption of Hindu gods into the Buddhist Pantheon. (b) The introduction of miscellaneous divinities including those of terrible form and appearance. (c) The development of Tantric gods and worship. (d) The gradual rapprochement between Mahayana and Brahmanical religions.

As a result, a Śiv-Buddha cult was introduced in Java. Further, Śiva, Vishnu and Buddha along with their Śaktis, were regarded as identical.[125]

123 V.A. Smith, Early History of India, pp. 186-187.
Between 550-600 A.D., while Hunas were defeated by Sassanian and Turks. Prabhakarvardhan defeated the King of Gandhara, the Hunas, the King of Sindh, the Gurjjaras, the Latas and the king of Malwa. Sri Harsha also inflicted many defeats in 610-642 A.D. so the Swarms of refugees from Gujrat ports escaped to the prosperous land of Java. (Indian shipping, p. 152). Arabs attacked India by sea (637 A.D.) and through Persia (650-660 A.D.) by land. The raiders (637 A.D.) attacked Thana from Oman and Broach and Sindh from Behrein (Reinuds Memoire Sur L'Inde, 170, 176) quoted in Indian shipping, ft. n. I, p. 153. This led to further rush of refugees from the ports of Sindh and Gujrat to Java.

124 Indian Shipping, ft. n. I, p. 154.
Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, p. 498.

125 Hindu colonies in Far-East, pp. 98-99.

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*Art in Java*

"The island of Java received the same form of religio-Culture as that developed in India and was conveyed to it in the same manner as the other countries of Greater India by means of progressive movements which infiltrated into it during the course of first millennium."[126] The specific settlements of Indians took place in the 4th century. This is testified by the Sanskrit inscriptions found in Western Java. No architectural or sculptural monument belonging to 4th and 5th century has survived.[127]

The first great period of Indo-Javanese Art commences in the seventh and the eighth Century. The great complexes of temples belonging to about the 8th century, and located on the Dieng plateau (6,500 ft. high) are Vaishnavite temples. They were isolated religious centres and were inhabited by priests only.[128] They are Brahmanical temples, named after the heroes and heroines of Mahabharata.[129] Though these temples are smaller in dimensions, their sculptures are Gupta prototype in sobriety and dignity.[130]

About a century later, Mahayana Buddhism was introduced. As shown by the monuments, the two religions (Brahmanism and Buddhism) flourished side by side for a considerable time.[131] In the 8th and 9th centuries, Java Sumatra, Malaya and Indo-China were ruled by kings of Indian origin. This was the period when there was great building activity in Java under the reign of Śailendra Dynasty. In this period, the famous Buddhist temples of Chandi Kalasen (778A), Chandi Sari, the Mendut (C 800A) and Ṣevu the Pewon were built. Chandi Kalasen is perhaps the first Buddhist

126 Percy Brown, p. 233.

127 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 258.
Percy Brown, p. 233.

128 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 258.
Percy Brown, pp. 232-4.

129 R.C. Majumdar, Colonial and cultural expansion, vide Age of Imp. Kanauj, p. 439.

130 R.C. Majumdar, Colonial and cultural expansion, vide Age of Imp. Kanauj, p. 439.
B. Rowland opines that they resemble Gupta, Pallava and Chalukya prototypes (B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 258).

131 Percy Brown, p. 233.

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temple in Java and is dedicated to Goddess Tara.[132]

The most magnificent monument belonging to the same period is the stupa of Borobudur. It is the only stupa of note in the island and a grand symbol of the faith in Buddhism of the entire community. It is situated on the top of a hillock and commands a fine view across the plains of Kedu to the distant range of hills. Some of the hills are still active volcanoes from which pillars of smoke erupt. In the words of Percy Brown who visited the site in 1910, this monument with many Buddhas, "gradually emerging from the darkness lit by its great luminous beam mysteriously rising from behind the heavy smoke emitted at regular intervals from a distant volcano, is unforgetable."[133]

The stupa of Borobudur or 'Many Buddhas' stands on a square plan which measures 500 ft. side and mounts up by a series of nine gradually receding terraces. The six lower terraces are plan and square while the three upper ones are circular. The whole structure measures one hundred and sixteen feet in height. Its top is crowned by a bell-shaped stupa. The uppermost terraces are encircled by rings of stupas, each containing Buddha images. The lower terraces contain eleven series of sculptured panels, depicting Buddhist stories and the life of Buddha.[134] There are 432 niches in the temple containing as many images of the Buddha. There are totally about 1500 sculptured panels in the galleries.

To quote R.C. Majumdar "It is very difficult to name any product of art, either in India or anywhere else in the world, where such a high standard of excellence has been maintained over such an extensive range. The combination of massive quantity and fine

132 B. Rowland, A.A.I., p. 258.
Percy Brown, p. 234.
The remains of Śiva temple on a low spur of Kedah Peak are an important link in the transition from sculptural shrines of south India to the Chindisor tomb shrines of Java (D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 134). Chandi means commemorative building (D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 151).

133 Percy Brown, p. 235 & ft. n. I.

134 B. Rowland, A.A.I., 260-2.
Percy Brown, p. 236.
R.C. Majumdar, Colonial and cultural expansion, vide The Age of Imp. Kanauj, pp. 439-40. Borobudur monument belongs to 750-850 A.D. (R.C. Majumdar, Anc. India, p. 493).

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quality, invests Borobudur with a unique character."[135]

*Literature*

Sanskrit inscriptions of Java suggest that Indian philosophical ideas and literary texts were taken to Java from very early times. The most ancient texts available in Indonesia appear to belong to the 5th Century A.D. They mainly deal with grants of lands etc. Later on under the patronage of great empires, Indonesian literature flourished. Indians epics like Ramayana and Mahabharata etc. were translated and were adapted in Javanese language.

Several recensions of these works in prose and verse exist at present in Indonesia. Popular Indonesian shadow-plays (Wayang-Kulit) use many episodes from them. Valmiki's Ramayana has undergone several alterations as Javanese put their own imaginative embellishments on Indian versions. Sita and Rama are the ideal and lofty examples for women and men of Indonesia. The main river of Java is named Suryu after the Indian river, which has Ayodhya, the capital of Rama on its banks.

The old Javanese work Amarmala is modelled on the Sanskrit Amarakoṣa and other Indian lexicons. Indian terms like 'Parvas' for category or section and Niti Śastra have been adopted. The most important literary work is Arjuna Vivaha was written in the time of king Airlangga, the only Balanese prince to rule over Bali and Java. The great poetical works of Kadiri period are Krishnayana describing Krishna and Jarasaddha fight, and Sumana Santaka based on Kalidasa's Raghuvamsa. The most important literary work is Bharatayuddha (12th Century A.D.).[136]

To quote R.C. Majumdar: "There was an extensive religious literature in Java based on Indian texts. They show how the theology, mythology, religious concepts and philosophy of Pauranik Hinduism made a thorough conquest of Java."[137]

135 R.C. Majumdar, Colonial and cultural expansion vide, The Age of Imp. Kanauj, p. 440.
The numerous representations of ships on the bas-reliefs of Borobudur temple reveal the type of ships built by lower Bengal for sailing to Ceylon, Java, Sumatra, China and Japan in their pursuits of commercial, artistic and religious missions. (Indian shipping, p. 156). It tells Bengali Buddhists and other Craftsmen, also worked in Java-Borobudur temple.

136 D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., pp. 147-49.

137 Hindu colonies in the Far-East, pp. 90-98.

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Indian 'Kathaputli' or puppet shows are an integral part of the life of Indonesians—all over Java and Bali—in fact all over Malaya and Indonesia. These shows attract large gatherings. The performance is accompanied by the Javanese orchestra. The puppets represent the heroes and heroines of Indian epics, with the "size, appearance, colour and ornaments of each character fixed by convention".[138]

Indians went out to South-East Asia via Tamralipti on the Bengal coast, Gopalpur, ancient Kalinga and three now unidentified harbours near Machilipatnam in Andhra Pradesh. The popular land route between eastern India and China was through Burma and Yunnan. Fa-hein and I-Tsing wrote of the regular maritime intercourse between the coast of Bengal and the Far-East right up to Easter Islands.

The main aim of the travellers was trade, not colonisation. The ship in which Fa-hein sailed had a large number of traders aboard. These sailors and merchants sometimes had to wait for favourable winds to return. They settled temporarily at various posts, sometimes for a longer period for completing business formalities. This must have led to intermarriages and permanent settlements. Some of them seem to have succeeded in settling themselves up as rulers.

But did they pay homage to their homeland ? Did the Indian Government of the time get tribute from them or looked after their problems, as English did in their colonies? Only Samudra Gupta's inscription records that the rulers of the dvipas recognised the Gupta Emperor as their overlord and waited upon him with precious and beautiful presents. All other literary, archaeological and traditional records refer to India's trade relations, and the influence of Indian culture Art and Architecture but not to any tribute paid by their local and Indianised or Hinduised or Hindu kings to the Hame Government. Nor do they record of any interest taken by Indian rulers in the problems of these islands. So would it be justified to call them colonies? Were they mere Indian settlements abroad? It is a matter for further probe.

138 D.P. Singhal, I. and W.C., p. 149.

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**Buddhist Monks and their Contribution**

There is no record to hinting at any conscious attempt of immigrants to Indianise any part of the world, whether it be China, South-East Asia or Central Asia. Only Buddhist missionaries made concrete efforts at this. Sometimes the wandering and adventurous monks landed in far-off lands and established monasteries and spread the fragrance of their sacred learning. Some of the Learned Buddhists invited by different kings did the same in other countries.

It was a period of revival in learning. A galaxy of poets and writers flourished in this (Gupta) era. Very little of the valuable Buddhist literature produced has, unfortunately, been preserved in the land of its birth. The Chinese get the credit for hoarding and preserving many of these literary works. India is indebted to China for this.

While both land and sea routes were followed to reach South-East Asian countries, the land route was mainly taken to reach Central Asian countries. Here Kashmir played a very important and famous role in the spread of Buddhism. Due to its geographical situation, it was in the ancient and middle ages the centre of commerce between India and Central Asia. Despite the difficulty of the route through Kashghar,[139] the wandering pilgrim monks used it to take the philosophical ideas beyond Indian borders and attracted foreign pilgrims and students to Kashmir and subsequently to India. It was because of its geographical situation, natural mountain defences, rich soil and spiritual people that Parashva and others counselled Kaniṣka to hold a Buddhist assembly in Kashmir. This resulted in the compilation of Vibhaṣa Śastras called Kashmirishi in Chinese.[140]

According to popular belief Buddhism in Kashmir was introduced by Aśoka in the 3rd Century B.C. This tradition agrees with Aśokāvadana, according to which Aśoka's counsellor Moggliputra Tissa deputed Majjhanlika, a Buddhist of Varanasi to propagate Buddhism

139 Dr. S. Khosla, History of Buddhism in Kashmir, p. 113.
Yuan-Chwang came to India via Kuche and Tashkand and returned to China crossing Pamirs through Kashgar and Khotan districts (Si-Yu-Ki, Intro., p. XIX).

140 H. of Buddhism in Kashmir, p. 26.

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in Kashmir [141] and Gandhara. Kashmir was donated by Aśoka as well as Kaniṣka to the Buddhists.

From Varanasi or Patliputra, Buddhism spread to Kashmir and other Himalayan regions and from Kashmir it spread to China, Tibet, Ladakh and Khotan.

Kashmir, Afghanistan and Punjab were the stronghold of Buddhism during the Gupta period. Yuan-Chwang and Fa-hein found thousands of monasteries and monks in these provinces.

In Bihar and the Upper Gangetic plain, Buddhism and Hinduism were equally popular. The epigraphic evidences show that Mathura, Kausambi and Kasia were the important centres of Buddhism. Similarly the discovery of numerous votive stupas and Buddhist statues at Sarnath, and the monastery at Budh-Gaya built by the king of Ceylon shows that these two places were the important centres of Buddhism and were visited by numerous pilgrims. In western Maharaṣtra the Buddhist cave temples and monasteries at Bhaja, Kuda, Mahar, Bedsa, Junar and Kanheri were patronised by aristocracy and occupied by Buddhists and Hindu saints and were visited by famous smiths, carpenters, garland-makers, goldsmiths, traders and doctors etc.[142]

**Ceylon's Debt to India**

All evidences literary, epigraphic and tradition, record the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon during the days of Aśoka. The great king after the assembly sent his son Mahendra to Ceylon with a branch of the sacred Bodhi tree. He established Buddhism in Ceylon in 3rd Century B.C. (242 B.C.). Vasabha was the first important king, to popularise Buddhism in the island make his rule acceptable to the Sangha.[143]

Around the first Century A.D. Mahayana Buddhism was introduced in the island. During the Gupta period both Mahayana and

141 This is recorded in Chinese work Shan-Chien-Lii-vib, Ch. 2 (quoted by Watters vide Y-Chw. I, ft. n. I, p. 266). History of Buddhism in Kashmir, pp. 13 ff.

142 Fa-hein's Legge., pp. 41-47.
cf. Chapters on Architecture, sculpture and religion of this work.

143 This is based on various inscriptions of his time scattered all over the island.
Cunningham, Anc. Geog, p. 643, adds that before the time of Mahendra there was no connection with Ceylon. Mahendra's sister Kumari Sanghmitra also joined his brother in Ceylon.

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Hinayana schools prospered in Ceylon. Fa-hein [144] who visited Ceylon in 412 A.D. records that Buddhism was prevailing throughout the island. There in a monastery called Abhayagiri, some 5000 monks were living. The Chinese pilgrim saw the branch of Bo-tree planted by a messenger of a former Indian king growing to the height of 200 cubits. A Vihara with a Buddha's image was built beneath the tree. In addition to this the reference is made to a vihara of Buddha's teeth in the city.

The Ceylonese started writing their own commentaries on sacred books, first in Simhalese and then in Pali. Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa were composed[145] in the beginning of the 4th and first half of the 5th Century A.D., and in the last quarter of 5th century A.D. respectively.

Buddhaghoṣa,[146] a Brahman born in Thaton and an inmate of Kalasa monastery, was sent to Ceylon by King Dhammapala. From Bassien he went to Gaya via Tamralipti and reached Ceylon. His famous works, Visuddimagga and commentaries on the Tripitakas, influenced Buddhism of Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia.

Buddhism and its literature had influenced the country so much that in the 3rd century A.D., a large number of Ceylonese missionaries were active in Andhra and Tamil provinces, Karnataka, Kokana, Bengal, Kashmir and Gandhara.[147] The land of the birth of the

144 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 102-4.
The date is taken from Cunningham's Geog., p. 641.
Bo-tree was probably the growth of the branch planted Mahendra. (Ashoka's son).

145 Winternitz, H.I.L., pp. 210-11.

146 Krishnamchariar, H.C.S.L., p. 129.
Please refer to Ch. on literature.

147 E.I. XX, p. 22.
Ceylon sent missionaries to China as well. They translated a number of Hinayana texts into Chinese (Farquhar, outlines, p. 135, quoted by Dr. A.S. Altekar vide Vak. Gup. Age, ft. n. 2, p. 383.
According to Bhiksuni Nidana and Chinese records in 429-433 A.D., nineteen nuns from Ceylon went to China and ordained first Chinese nuns. In 434 A.D. a large No. of Simhalese nuns, under the leadership of Tissara went to China to further Guna Vardhan's works for the foundation of monastic system, after the model of Simhalese Buddhism In 438 a group of eight Simhalese Bhikshunis again went to China. Sanghabhadra, went to China with his Acharya Tripitak-Acharya, in 488 A.D. and translated Buddhaghoṣa Samantapasadika in Chinese (Chao-pu-chu New Ties among Buddhists, paper borrowed from Chinese embassy, Delhi).

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Master, received missionaries from the island. The Buddhist pilgrims from Ceylon, visited holy places of the faith in such a great number that King Meghavarṇa of Ceylon sought the permission of Samudra Gupta to build a monastery for their stay at Gaya. The earliest surviving monuments of Ceylon belong to the 3rd Century B.C. A large number of dagobas, Viharas and temples were constructed by Devenipiatissa (247-207 B.C.) and his successors. Mahavamṣa (XXX) records the construction and the sanctity attached to dagobas.

In Ceylon "the fragments of the bones of Gautama and locks of his hair are enclosed in enormous hemispherical masonry, modification of which may be traced in every Buddhist country of Asia, in the topes of Afghanistan and Punjab, in the pagodas of Pagu[148] and in Borobudur of Java."

The art of constructing solid monuments developed in Ceylon because of Buddhism and the Ceylonese learnt this art from Jotiyo, a Brahmana Chief engineer.[149] Simhalese had very little knowledge of fortifications of town until the 2nd century B.C. when fortification of Vijjitpura was done by Malabaris.

The art of construction and engineering skill acquired from India was developed so much by the Simhalese that in the 8th Century, King Jayapida[150] of Kashmir sent for engineers from Ceylon. He constructed a deep lake and built his castle "which equalled heaven (in beauty)" with the help of engineers (Raksasas) brought from Lanka.

The worship of Buddha in Ceylon led to the development of sculpture and painting. The artists of Ceylon produced such beautiful statues of Buddha that their art became famous throughout the Buddhist countries of Asia. The peculiarity is that "On standing about ten paces distance they appeared truly brilliant but the linements gradually disappeared on a nearer approach."[151]

The painter and the sculptor tried to paint and sculpture the

148 Ceylon, p. 345.
Daha "The body" and Gopa "what preserves". They enshrine hair, teeth, nails etc. of Buddha (Wilson's Asiat. Res., Vol. VII, p. 605).
Mahanaga Digobga was repaired in first and third Century A.D. (A.K. Coomaraswamy, Hist. of India and Indonesian Art, p. 159).

149 Mahavamṣa, Ch. X.

150 Rajat. IV. 503, 506.

151 Wei, Shoo, a History of the Wei Tartar Dynasty, written in 590 B.C. xiv. p. 9 (quoted in Ceylon, ft. n. 2, p. 476).

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images of Buddha in imitation of life. The ceremony "painting of the eyes" is always observed as a solemn Buddhist festival.[152] Many a work thus executed were either golden or gilt with brilliants inserted in the eyes and draperies enriched with jewels.[153]

**Java's Debt to Buddhist-Monks**

The credit for introducing Buddhism in Java goes to *Guna Varman* known as Kiu-na-pa-mo in Chinese transliteration and Kong-to-kai in Chinese translation. He belonged to the royal family of Kashmir.[154] He became Śramana at the age of twenty and acquired so much knowledge of Buddhism that he became known as 'Master of the Law' and 'The Master of Tripitaka'. When he was thirty years old, the king of Kashmir died issueless. Guna Varman was offered the crown, but he rejected it and went soon after to Ceylon where he preached the Dharma. From Ceylon he went to Java on the same mission.[155]

In Java he succeeded in converting the queen-mother to Buddhist. Gradually, under the influence of his mother, the king too accepted the faith of Buddha. It was the time when Java was attacked by the hostile troops. The king sought the interpretation of the Buddhist law, whether or not to fight against the enemies. Guna Varman advised that is was his duty to fight the robbers and punish them. The king fought and won a glorious victory. Gradually the whole of Java was converted to Buddhism. The religion seems to have had a deep effects upon masses. This can be construed from the remains of Buddhist monuments in Java.[156]

By this time the name and fame of Guna Varman had spread far and wide. In 424 A.D. at the request of his monks, the king of China invited him to his country. The messengers persuaded the Javanese king agree and induced Guna Varman left Java in a vessel owned by

152 Mahavamşa, Ch. LXXII.
153 Mahavamşa, Ch. XXXVIII.
154 Bagchi, India and China, pp. 39, 212.
P.N. Bose, Indian Teachers in China, p. 75.
155 Bagchi, India and China, p. 39.
P.N. Bose, Indian Teachers in China, pp. 75-6.
It were the efforts of Guna Varman that the whole of Java was converted into Buddhism.
156 Please refer to History of Java in this chapter.

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the Hindu merchant Nandin. He reached China (Nankin) in 431 A.D.[157]

**Buddhist Monks in China**

Buddhism reached China before the beginning of Christian ere,[158] though the modern writers have given conflicting dates. The definite step taken in that connection was that of taking a golden image of Buddha by Indian monks, probably of Kashmiri design to that country.[159]

Sanghabhuti, a Kashmiri monk went to China in 381 A.D. and remained there till his death. He translated a number of Buddhist texts into Chinese. The most important of his works was commentary on Vinaya Pitaka (disciplinary code) of Sarvāstivada school.[160] His translation of Arya-Vasumitra-Bodhi-Dattva Sangiti-Śastra done in 384 A.D., is available in Chinese.[161]

*Kumarajiva* a Kashmiri Mahayanist monk[162], who achieved international repute of a great scholar and teacher[163] of Buddhism, was forcibly taken by the Chinese emperor after defeating the king of Kuchi, to China in 385 A.D. Kumarajiva remained with the ruler of Ku-Tsang for nearly fifteen years, and then reached the Chinese

157 Bagchi, India and China, pp. 40, 212.
P.N. Bose, Indian Teacher in China, p. 81.
The Chinese work kwaj-yuen—Catalogue and other works of the land give all praise to Buddhist monk.

158 Please refer to History of Buddhism in Kashmir, Ch. IX.

159 S.C. Dass, Ind. Pandits in the land of snow, p. 24.

160 Bagchi, India and China, p. 35.

161 Nanjio Catal. No. 1289.

162 Kumarjiva, became the follower of Madhyamika school and propagated the system in China in 5th Century A.D. (Taka-kusu, Essentials of Buddhist philosophy, p. 99).

163 K.N. Panikkar, India and China, p. 28 ff.
Kumarjiva's father, hereditary minister to an Indian state, abdicated his rights and went to Kuchi. Here he married Jiva a princess of royal family, at his own choice. Jiva became Buddhist nun soon after the birth of Kumarjiva and took the child to Kashmir when he was only of 9 years. Hereunder Bandhudatta, Kumarjiva studied Buddhist philosophy and variety of subjects. He then returned to Kuchi.

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Capital in 401 A.D.[164] at the request of the emperor. From 401 to 412 A.D., he remained and worked in the Chinese capital.

He was the first to introduce Mahayana form of Buddhism in China in systematic manner, though it had originated much earlier in India.[165] The Chinese king appointed him Raj Guru and asked him to translate the Buddhist scriptures into the Chinese language. He placed 800 scholars on his staff to carry the project of completion. As a result 106 works were translated. Most of them belonged to Mahayana school. Of these only 56 works are available at present. Kumarajiva's only original works are (i) a treatise on Tattva in two chapters and (2) a commentary on Vimal kirti Sutra. His translation 'Prajña Parmita Hridya' which Kumarajiva himself followed and which was followed by a large number of people in China is famous. In 405 A.D. Kumarajiva translated Daśabhumivibhaṣa Śastra, a commentary on Daśabhumi Sutra by Nagarjuna, and 430 A.D. he translated Aṣvaghosa's Sutra-lankara Śastra. He translated Saddharma Pundrika 'The lotus of the Good law'. Even today no book is more popular in China than this. Kumarajiva translated Satya-siddhi Śastra (more correctly the Tattva-Siddhi-Śastra) of Harivarman, a famous Kashmiri teacher of Sarvastivada.

Kumarajiva is known as a great translator and his style is more appreciated than that of the great Chinese writer Yuan-Chwang.[166]

*Punyatrata*, worked in China, in collaboration with Kumarajiva in 404 A.D. It is just possible that he was in Kuchi when Kumarajiva was taken to China. At any rate he helped Kumarajiva in the work of translation.[166]

Dharmayaśas was the pupil of Punyatrata in Kashmir. He met his Guru at the age of 14. After gaining proficiency in Buddhism he left for China in 397-401 A.D. and remained there till 424-53 A.D. There he translated a number of works with the help of his compatriots. After completing his works, he most probably returned to

164 Kumarjiva reached China in 401 A.D. (P.N. Bose, Indian Teachers in China, p. 61; S. Kuroda, outlines of Mahayana, p. 23).
Kumarjiva reached China in 408 A.D. (S.C. Dass, Indian Pandits in the land of snow, p. 32).

165 Bagchi, India and China, p. 103.
K.M. Pannikar, India and China, p. 30.

166 History of Buddhism in Kashmir, pp. 144-146.

167 Bagchi, India and China, p. 37.
Punyatrata and his pupil Dharmayaśas went to China in 397 A.D. (Radhakrishnan, India and China, p. 27).

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Kashmir. We have no information whether the Guru and the pupil went to China together or separately.[168]

*Vimalaksha* was a famous Śramana of Kashmir. Kumarajiva learnt Vinaya from him in Kuchi. When Kumarajiva was translating books in China his Guru met him there in 406 A.D. After Kumarajiva's death in 413 A.D. Vimalaksha went to South China and translated two works. One of the work is not traceable after 730 A.D. and the surviving work is Daṣadhaya-Vinaya-Nidana or preface to Dasadhya Vinaya. He died in 418 A.D. at the age of 77.[169]

*Gautama Sanghadeva* (384-397 A.D.) or Kiu-tan-Seng Kia-ti-po or community god (in Chinese translation) was a Buddhist monk of Kashmir who went to China in or about 384 A.D. and then went on to South China. He was in China when Sanghabhuti was also there. Gautama Sanghadeva translated the first of the seven Sarvāstivāda Abbidharma texts in collaboration with Fa-hein in 380 A.D. Next he translated the Madhyamagama Sutra similar rather to Majjhima Nikāya or Hināyana school named Kun-o-han-king (Chinese version), and Abhidharma-Hridharmaka-Śastra in 391 A.D. and Tridharmaka Śastra—in 397-398 A.D. In all he translated eight works in Chinese. One of these works was lost in 730 A.D.[170]

*Budhajiva* or Fo-to-she was a follower of Mahiśaska school and a teacher of Vinaya in Kashmir. He went to China and reached Nankin in 423 A.D. He translated three works of his own school into Chinese between 423-24 A.D. and helped Fa-hein in translating Sanskrit Manuscripts brought from India. Out of the three Vinaya translations one is lost and two Mahiśaska Vinaya and Pratimoksha of Mahiśaska are available. He seems to have remained in China till his death.[171]

*Sakyashri Bhadra*, another Kashmiri monk, went to China in 405 A.D. He was an exponent of logic. He wrote seven Buddhist works. He translated several Tibetan works into Sanskrit.[172]

*Dharma Mitra* another monk from Kashmir reached China in 424 A.D. and translated Buddhist works in Chinese upto 441 A.D. His translation of Ākāśagarbha Bodhisattva dharni-sutra is still

168 Bagchi, India and China, pp. 36-7.
169 P.N. Bose, Indian Teachers in China, p. 69.
170 *Ibid.*, p. 146.
171 Bagchi, India and China, p. 39.
P.N. Bose, Indian Teachers in China, p. 73.
172 A. Kaul, The Kashmir's Pandits, p. 29.

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famous, while six of his other works are still known and are available. He died in 442 A.D. at the age of 87.[173]

Budhavarman or Fou-to-po-mo was probably a Kashmiri. He was a specialist in Vibhaṣa. A little before 433 A.D., he went to China and translated Mahavibhaṣa Sutra in sixty chapters between 437-439 A.D.[174]

Gunbhadra, a Kashmiri monk, went to China and translated Samyktāgams in 420-427 A.D.[175]

Buddhayaṣas, known as Fo-to-she was a Brahman of Kashmir and was converted to Buddhism at the age of twenty-seven. He travelled in Central Asia and at Kumarajiva's invitation went to Changngam. He translated four works into Chinese, two of which were Dirghama and Dharmagupta Vinaya. Besides these he translated Abhidharma-prakarnapada (Śastra) of Vasumitra with the help of Gunbhadra. Having completed his work between 410-413 A.D. he returned to Kashmir.[176]

*Gunavarman* : At the invitation of the Chinese emperor, Gunavarman reached China from Java in 431 A.D. He was honoured by the emperor and accommodated in Jetavane Vihara, where Gunavarman lived upto his death at the age of sixty-five. He translated eleven Sanskrit works into Chinese.[177] He expounded and preached Saddharma Pundrika at Nankin and did much to advance the spiritual welfare of the people. He organised a Saṁgha of Chinese nuns for the first time.[178] Buddhism which had gained strength in China with the appearance of Kumarajiva, received great impetus with the arrival of Gunavarman.[179]

In addition to above mentioned Kashmiri monks, other Buddhist

173 P.N. Bose, Indian Teachers in China, p. 73.

174 Bagchi, India and China, p. 206.

175 Bagchi, India and China, p. 133.
Gunbhadra (A.D. 435-468) belonged to Madhyadeṣa (Central India) (Cl. Age, p. 599). Since the dates differ, may be they were two different monks belonging to two different places.

176 Nanjio Catal. No. 1292.
Bagchi, India and China, pp. 133-206.

177 Bagchi, India and China, pp. 40, 212.
P.N. Bose, Indian Teachers in China, p. 81.
Please refer to Java's debt to Buddhist monks supra.

178 P.N. Bose, Indian Teachers in China, pp. 79-80.

179 P.N. Bose, the Indian Teachers in China, p. 75.

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monks to visit, translate and propagate the faith in Chinese were (1) Ratnacinta or Adisena (693 A.D.); (2) Prajña (781 A.D.) better known as Pan-jo-li; (3) Tiensi-Tsai (977 A.D ); and (4) Suraj Gupta (1000 A.D.).[180]

**Indian Monks**

In addition to the Kashmiri monks, a large number of Buddhist monks from other parts of India went on missionary work to China. Among them may be mentioned, Gunbhadra (435-568 A.D.) of Madhyadeśa (Central India), Prajñaruchi of Benaras (516-543 A.D.), Upaśunya Ujjayini (6th Century) and Jñanabhadra, Jinayaśas and Yaśogupta (6th Century) from Eastern India (Bengal and Assam).

*Buddhabhadra* was born in Jelalabad at Nagarhara. He was probably the descendent of Vimokshasena.[181] Buddhabhadra during his stay in Kashmir, he became famous for his learning and knowledge of Buddhism. When one of the monks of Fa-hein's party, requested Buddhist community of Kashmir to send a learned scholar to China, he was selected. Going to China he translated into Chinese Avataṁśaka of Mahayana literature in the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. Its text Buddhavataṁśaka Mahavaipulva-Sutra consists of sixty chapters.[182]

*Parmartha* was born in Ujjayini. He acquired proficiency in all the branches of Buddhism and settled in Pataliputra. This was the time when Emperor Wu of China sent a mission to the king of Magadha and requested him to send a learned Buddhist monk to China. The king, perhaps the last Gupta ruler Vishnu Gupta, selected Parmartha. Taking a large number of Buddhist books, the great monk reached China in 546. He stayed there till his death in 569 and translated nearly 70 Buddhist texts.[183]

180 History of Buddhism in Kashmir, pp. 150-51.

181 Buddhabhadra, Vimokshasena and Jinagupta hailed from N.W. Frontier. The first two claimed descent from the Śakya family of Kapilvastu. For disobeying Buddha's law of non-violence, they were expelled. They went towards West and became the rulers of Udayana (Swat Valley) and Bamiyan (near Kabul) (Cl. Age, pp. 599-600).

182 Bagchi, India and China, p. 140.
According to Anesaki Buddhabhadra reached China in 398 A.D., i.e., two years before Fa-hein reached (entered) India, (JRAS, 1903, p. 368).

183 Parmartha (499-569 A.D.) was a great Indian monk, who compiled Vasubandhu's biography. It has been translated from Chinese by J. Taka-kusu in Toung Pao, V. 1904, p. 1.

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Parmartha compiled the biography of Vasubandhu, the most authoritative exponent of Hinayana philosophy, whose famous work Abhidharmakoṣa written from the Vaibhashika point of view is recognised authoritative by all the schools of Buddhism.

*Dharma Gupta* was born at Lata (South Gujarat) and studied in the Kaumudī Sangharama at Kanauj. He stayed in the royal monastery named Devavihara in Takka (N. Punjab) for some time before proceeding to China. He reached Ch'angngn in 590 A.D. He followed the land route via Afghanistan and stayed on his way at Kapisa (Kafiristan), Badakshan, Wakhan and Tash Qurghan. His longest stay was of two years at Kashgar. Then he proceeded by the Northern route and passed through Kuchi, Agnideṣa (Qura Sahir), Turfan and Hami. He stayed at all these places for one or two years and satiated his thirst for knowledge of their Buddhist monks. He translated a large number of Buddhist texts and wrote the description of all the countries he visited. The book has no surviving copy.[184]

*Buddha Dharma* was probably the third son of a Pallava king of Kāñchi. He is credited with the introduction of the contemplative form of Mahayana in China in the second half of the sixth century. According to the Kwai-Yuen-catalogue and other Chinese works, *Buddha Dharma* reached Canton by sea in 526 A.D. Due to his age and character he was given great honours. He was invited by the king of South China and honoured in the court. "The arrival of Bodhi Dharma gave a great impetus to Indian missionary activity in China where it is recorded that these were at work at one time and in one province, viz. Lo-Yang, "More than 3,000 Indian monks and 10,000 Indian families to impress their national religion and Art on Chinese soil."[185]

Vinitaruci[186], a Buddhist monk of Uddiyana, went to China in 582 A.D. and translated two works in Chinese. He founded Dhyāna school in Tonkin.

During fourth, fifth and sixth centuries the number of Buddhist scholars and monks of Kashmir who visited China far exceeded the number of those who went there from other parts of India taken together.

184 Cl. Age, p. 601.
185 Okakura's ideals of the East, p. 113 (quoted by R K. Mukerji, Indian shipping, ft. n. 2, p. 167).
186 Bagchi, India and China, p. 228.

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The Kashmiri and other Indian monks gave China, Buddhist literature, Indian sculpture and painting, and "component parts of Indian civilization and culture". To China Buddhism influenced the aesthetic outlook of the Chinese. It introduced the doctrine of transmigration of the soul, "the idea of causality and the belief in reward and retribution". Buddhism proved the most effective spiritual factor in the religions of China, and taught the people of China to believe in the immortality of the soul. The first Amitabha Sutra was also probably taken to China by Buddhist priests from Nepal or Kashmir in 147 A.D. The dancers of China "have their hair plaited and put on Kaṣya of Chao-hia, similar to the dress of monks".[187] To quote Chinese annals about Tan-Tan state which sent ambassadors to China in 530, 535 and 666 A.D., "The family name of its king was Kshatriya (Kchsatriya) and his personal name Silingkia (Ṣringa). He daily attends to business and has eight great ministers, called the 'Eight Seats' all chosen from among the Brahmanas. The king rubs his body with perfumes, and wears a very high hat and necklace of different kinds of jewels. He is clothed in muslin and shod with leather slippers. For short distances, he rides in a carriage, but for long distances he mounts on elephant. In war they always blow conches and beat drums."[188]

**Central Asia and Buddhist Monks**

The accounts of Chinese pilgrims notably of Fa-hein and Yuan-Chwang tell us that the whole of Turkistan from Kashgar right upto the frontier of China was greater under the influences of Indian culture and civilization by the beginning of the 4th Century A.D. On leaving China for India, Fa-hein first crossed Shen-Shen, situated near Lop-Nor at the eastern extremity of Central Asia. He found here nearly four thousand monks and their king as a Buddhist. To quote him, "The common people of this and other kingdoms (in that region) as well as the Śramanas all practised the rules of India . . . (the monks) however, who had (given up the worldly life) and quit their families were all students of Indian books

187 For details please refer History of Buddhism in Kashmir, pp. 151-52. Indian music tunes Bodhisattva and Bhairo. According to Japanese tradition were taken from China to Japan by an Indian Brahmana named Bodhi in Tang period (Cl. Age, p. 615).

188 Vak. Gup. Age, p. 319.

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and the Indian languages."[189]

Fa-hein narrates[190] about the large number of monks and Monasteries, and procession of images seen by him at Khotan on his way to India. He tells that Indian civilization was well established in all the corners of this region.[191] Of all the kingdoms visited by the Chinese pilgrims, Khotan and Kuchi have played a major part in propagating Indian culture and civilization in Central Asia and China.

**Khotan**

*Fa-hein in Khotan*

Fa-hein found Buddhism in a very flourishing condition in Yu-teen (Khotan). Almost the whole population was Buddhist. Several Myriads Buddhist monks, and students of the Mahayana form of Buddhism had a common mess. Proper arrangement for the stay of monks from all quarters was made in the monasteries, which had small rooms attached to them.

Fa-hein was lodged in the famous Gomati monastery, where lived three thousand monks who were all Mahayanist students. Here Fa-hein witnessed the famous procession of images. The pilgrim describes, that beginning on the first day of the fourth month, the streets are cleaned and watered. The king and the queen shift to the city gate in large tent grandly adorned for the occasion.

The monks of the Gomati monastery take a leading part to the famous car procession. "At a distance of three or four Li from the city, they made a four-wheeled image car, more than thirty feet high, which looked like a great hall (of a monastery) moving along. The

189 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 13-14.
Aśoka conquered "Northern Himalayas and snowy ranges beyond Li-yul (Khotan) and entire Jambudvipa bounded by season East. South & West and also fifty small islands" (Taranath, p. 60). Buddhism seems to be introduced by Aśoka in Khotan according to Taranatha.

190 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 14ff.

191 The kingdoms having great importance and effects of Buddhism described by both the Chinese pilgrims from West to East are Kaşgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Shan-shan, and in the Northern part: Bharuka Kuci, Agnideşa (Karasahir) and Turfan.
The name Khotan is derived from the name of Kustana the first king of Li-Yul (D. 1213. Kaṃsdeşa or Khotan vide Taranath, ft. n. 41, p. 60).

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seven precious substances or Sapta-ratnas, gold, silver, lapis lazuli, rock crystal, rubies, diamonds or emeralds and agate were grandly displayed about it, with silken streamers and canopies hanging all around. The Chief image (Sakyamuni) stood in the middle of the car with two Budhisattvas in attendance on it, while devas were made to follow in waiting, all brilliantly carved in gold and silver and hanging in the air. When the car was hundred paces from the gate the king put off his crown of state, changed his dress for a fresh suit, and with bare feet, carrying in his hands flowers and incense, and with two rows of attending flowers, went out at the gate to meet the image, and with his head and face (bowed to the ground), he did homage at his feet, and then scattered the flowers and burnt the incense. When the image entered the gate, the queen and the brilliant ladies with her in the gallery above scattered far and wide all kinds of flowers, which floated about and fell promiscuously to the ground. In this way everything was done to promote the dignity of the occasion. The carriages of the monasteries were all different, and each one had its own day for the procession. The ceremony began on the first day of the fourth month and ended on the fourteenth, after which the king and the queen returned to the palace."[192]

Seven or eight Li west of the city, Fa-hein saw another monastery called King's New Monastery. It was having gold, silver and was studded with precious stones. Behind the rope there was a Hall of Buddha of utmost magnificence and beauty. Besides this, the monks apartments were decorated beyond description. Six countries to the east of Tsung range (Turkistan) of mountains donated the greater portion of their income to these monasteries.[193]

According to Yuan-Chwang, Buddhism in Khotan came from Kashmir, and it was Sarvastivada Buddhism. The date of the introduction of Buddhism in the land is still a matter of controversy among modern writers. Buddhism in Khotan was introduced in the days of king Vijya Sambhava, probably between 3rd and 2nd century B.C. The Mahayana form of Buddhism was introduced in Khotan in the 4th Century A.D. But by 3rd Century A.D. Khotan seems to have become an active centre of Buddhism as a Chinese monk Chu-She-hing went there to study the religion. At the time of Fa-hein's (399-414 A.D.) and Yuan-Chwang's (629-645 A.D.)

192 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 16-19.
193 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 19-20.

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visit Mahayana form of Buddhism flourished in Khotan. In 441 A.D. Kumarajiva studied Tripitaks of Sarvāstivada and its Vibhaṣa at Kashghar, which is on the gateway to Khotan.[194]

*Vairochna* was a Kashmiri monk who went to Khotan taking some relics of Buddha from Kashmir with Yuan-Chwang. The King of Khotan built a monastery of Tsar-ma for him. This was the first monastery of its kind in Khotan.[195]

*Dharmakshema* the Indian scholar who was working in China in the beginning of the 5th Century A.D. proposed the search of Mahā-parinirvaṇa Sutra of Mahayana in 433 A.D. in Khotan, which could not be found anywhere else. Due to the efforts of Buddhist monks Buddhism was not only introduced but firmly rooted in Khotan. It effected even the language of the country. The country had Kharoshti script from an early period to the 3rd century A.D. It was first ousted by Brahmi and Prakrit, the sacred language of Sarvastivada school and subsequently Sanskrit also found its place in Khotan.[196] In Khotan, Stein noticed several wooden houses and sheds where thousands of pigeons were maintained by pious endowments of travellers. They are believed to have been the offsprings of a pair of doves which miraculously appeared from the heart of Imam Shaker Padshah who died here in a battle with the infadels (The Buddhists of Khotan). Stein also noticed a pigeon sanctuary in which pigeons kept were propitiated with food-offerings by modern wayfarers. This according to him was a survival of a Buddhist legends. It is considered a pious local custom which the Mohammadens of this region had derived from the Buddhist ancestors.[197]

A large number of fragments of manuscripts, paintings, images and other Buddhist monuments have been discovered from Yotkan, Rawak, Dandan-Vilik and Niya in the neighbourhood of modern Khotan. They confirm that the most flourishing period of Buddhism

194 History of Buddhism in Kashmir, p. 158.

195 Bagchi, India and Central Asia, p. 51.
A monk Vairochna was also active in Tibet in 750 A.D. (Elliot, Hindu Buddh., p. 211).
Watters says that this Arhat Vairochna is not known to Buddhist scriptures but is evidently the Bodhisattva Manjusri of the Tibetan books where he came as a man to teach Tibetan Vernaculars to the peasants and also to introduce Buddhism. The name of the monastery (Tsar-ma-Vihara) is also Tibetan text (Watters Yuan-Ch., Vol. II, p. 300).

196 Bagchi, India and Central Asia, pp. 58, 93-4.

197 Stein, M.A., Ancient Khotan, pp. 194-96.

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in Khotan was Gupta period and the religion remained in the prosperous condition uptill the 8th Century A.D.[198]

Khotan has proved a centre for spreading Buddhism eastward along the southern route upto the frontier of China via Shan-Shan (Lob region). Khotan was connected with Krasahr region through Tarim desert. Fa-hein followed this route. But the common route, at least in the later period was from Kashgar towards Kuchar by way of ancient Bharuka (Uch-Turfan).[199]

**Kuchi and Indian Monks**

Like Khotan in the South, Kuçi played a prominent part in the spread of Buddhism in the North from the 4th Century A.D. onwards. Kumarajiva, son of Kumarayana, personified the religious and cultural internationalism of the period. He studied Buddhist philosophy under Bandhudatta, a teacher of fame in Kashmir, and after a number of Buddhist institutions, settled in Kuchi. In 383 A.D. Kumarajiva went to China where he translated one hundred Sanskrit texts and interpreted Mahayana Philosophy.[200]

*Buddhayaśas* a Kashmiri Brahman convert to Buddhism, was in Central Asia when the King of Kashgar invited three thousand Buddhist monks to a religious assembly. Buddhayaśas went with them. He impressed the king so much that he was requested to stay there. Here he studied some sacred texts with Kumarajiva. After Kumarajiva's return to Kuchi, it was invaded by Chinese. The King of Kashgar, leaving his young prince in the charge of Buddhayaśas, went to help the King of Kuchi. After the fall of Kuchi, Buddhayaśas stayed for ten years in Kashgar and then went to Kuchi. A year later he was invited by Kumarajiva's to China, where he worked with him. After Kumarajiva's death, he returned to Kashmir.[201]

*Dharmakshema*, a great monk born in Central India, went to Kuchi, and proceeded to Western China which was then an independent principality. From 414 to 432, he translated Buddhist texts into Chinese.

198 R.C. Majumdar, Intercourse with the Western World vide Vak. Gup. Age, p. 328.

199 *Ibid.*, p. 328.

200 Pl. see Kumarajiva, ft. n. 162-165 of this Chapter. According to Chinese records Kuchi, in the beginning of 4th Century A.D. had nearly 10,000 Buddhist stupas and temples. Though the number seems to be an exaggeration. (R.C. Majumdar, vide Vak. Gup. Age, pp. 328-29).

201 Please refer to Buddhayaśas, ft. n. 176 of this Chapter.

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Contrary to Buddhist principles, the cruel local Chinese king got him murdered in 433, when disobeying his orders, Dharmakshema was returning to India.

The history of first Tsin dynasty in China, while describing the state of Buddhism is Kuchi in 4th and 5th centuries, pays homage to Kumarajiva in a very appreciating tone: "The Kingdom of Kuchi possessed numerous monasteries. Their decoration is magnificent. The royal palace also had standing images of Buddha as in a monastery. There is a convent named Ta-mu which had 170 monks. The convent named Che-li on the Northern hill had fifty monks. The new convent of the king named Kien-mu had 60. The convent of the king of Wen-Su 70. These four convents were under the direction of Buddhasvamin. The monks of these convents change their residence every three months. Before completing five years of their ordination they are not permitted to stay in the king's convent even for one night. This convent has 90 monks. There is a young monk named Kiu-kin (?mo) Kumarajiva, who has great capacity and knowledge and has studied the Mahayana. Buddhasvamin is his teacher and he has changed as Buddhasvamin of the Agama school.

"The convent of A-li has 180 nuns that of Liun-Jo-Kan has fifty, and that of A-li-po has 30. These three convents are also under the direction of Buddhasvamin. The nuns receive regular Śikshapadas; the rule in the foreign countries is that the nuns are not allowed to govern themselves. The nuns in these three convents are generally the daughters or wives of kings and princes (of countries) to the east of Pamirs. They came from long distances to these monasteries for the sake of the law. They regulate their practices. They have very severe rules. They change their residence once in every three months. Excepting the three Chief nuns they do not go out. They observe five-hundred prescriptions of the law."[202]

Thus Kuchi was the centre of Buddhism with kings, queens and people not only of local origin but of countries beyond Pamirs as monks and nuns. The credit for this goes specially to Kumarajiva and the wandering monks, the interest taken by the local kings, and Kuchi's geographical position on the route to China and the Central Asian countries. Was this interest in Indian religion (Buddhism) confined only to the Law? When people of different faiths meet and live together, naturally other aspects of life such as social, moral and

202 Quoted by R.C. Majumdar, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 329.

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cultural are affected.[203] The literary remains of Kuchi amply confirm this conjecture. Indian names were adopted by kings and commons e.g. Swarnate (Swarandeva), Arte (Hardeva), Suvarṇapushpas, and Haripushpa. Indian music was also introduced to Kuchi from where it was taken to China and on to Japan.[204]

**Tibet and Buddhist Monks**

Tibet lived alone amidst tumbled mountain ranges and deep gorges of some of the World's largest rivers in the East. To reach it from south or west one has to pass the highest mountain ranges of the Himalayas and if a northern route is to be followed, it is still more severe through arctic wastes of the great Northern Plateau. The Chinese pilgrims who crossed the continent and recorded their Indian pilgrimage from 5th to 7th Centuries found no way through Tibet. Even Marcopolo who in his wide wanderings explored many Asiatic countries did not penetrate Tibet. The credit for spreading Buddhism in this land shut off from the rest of the world goes mainly to Kashmiri monks. Historians have divergent views about the date of its introduction.[205]

According to Cunningham, Buddhism in Tibet was spread by Kashmiri monks. Kaniṣka is credited with sending 500 Kashmiri Arhats to Tibet to propagate the religion.[206] Tibetans work, Kah-gyur, says that Buddhism in Tibet was introduced in 367 A.D. in the reign

203 The notable example is Kumarayana's marriage with Jiva, the sister of the king of Kuchi (Love marriage). Their first issue was Kumarajiva, the famous Buddhist scholar. Their second issue was Pushyadeva. After this second child Jiva also embraced Buddhism. (R.C. Majumdar, Vak. Gup. Age, p. 330).

204 R.C. Majumdar, vide Vak. Gup. Age, p. 330.
R.C. Majumdar, vide Cl. Age, p. 615.

205 The people are nomads and simple, strong and austere. Their characters sheet tells that they are raiding and plundering type. Even the monks go on marauding expeditions. (The religion of Tibet, pp. 5-6.) Before the appearance of Buddhism the religion of the people was Pon, perhaps a form of Shamanism or nature worship. When shamanism was in full power religious rites of the Tibetans included human sacrifice in addition to animal sacrifices (JRAS, 1880, p. 441.
H. Hoffmann, The religion of Tibet, pp. 21-25 adds the Bon text gzer-myig provides with a realistic picture of human sacrifice.

206 Cunningham, Bhilsa Topes, p. 131.

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of king Hlatori.[207] Buddhism became popular in the 7th Century, with the Tibetan King Strong Tsang Gampos marrying first the Nepalese princess The-Chunu in 640 and then the Chinese princess Kong-Jo in 641. Both the queens brought Buddhist monks, Buddhist books and Buddha images to Tibet and both influenced their husband.[208] King Sron Tsan Gampo was the greatest king of Tibet and was canonised as an incarnation of Celestian Avalokita. His two wives were canonised as incarnations of Avalokita's consort Tara 'The Saviouress' or goddess of Mercy. The Chinese princess was deified as 'The white Tara' and the Nepalese princess as the 'Green Bhrikuti Tara.'[209] On the advice of his queens, the king sent for Buddhist monks from India, Nepal and China.

The messenger sent by this king to India was Thon-mi Sambhota.[210] He stayed in India for several years and studies under a learned Brahmana Livikara or Lipidatta (Li-byin Li+ "To give"), and Pandit Deva Vid Sinha (or Sinha Ghosha). He took several Buddhist books with him. He is the composer of Grammar and 'Tibetan Alphabet'. Perhaps he left Tibet in 632 and returned in 650[211].

During Srong Gampo's period a large number of monks visited Tibet. They include Kusara (? Kumara) and Sankara Brahmana from India, Śila Manju from Nepal; Hwa Shang Maha-tse from China and Tibuta

207 Shiefner, Tibetan Tales, 1906, p. X.

208 Waddell, pp. 20-21.
History of the Mongols, part IV, p. 124.
Rahulji, Yatra Ke Panne (Hindi), p. 152.
Pag-Sam-Zon-Zang, part II, pp. 167-69. Ed. by S.C. Dass, 1908, contents, pp. viii-ix. Schiefner, Tibetan Tales, 1906, p. x. Tibet is supposed to have conquered Assam, Nepal and a part of India as well. This seems to be an exaggeration. But Tibet had its sway over Nepal and probably over Assam as well. Levi holds this opinion giving references to authorities. (Nepal ii, 146-154).

209 Waddell, pp. 21-22.

210 *Ibid.*, p. 21. It is Sanskritised title for the god of Bhotiya or Tibetan, otherwise his proper name is Thon-me, son of Anu (*Ibid.*, ft. n. 6, p. 21).
The Kashmiri monk Shama Bhatt, was called Thumi-Sambota, who preached and taught Buddhism to the people in Lassah. He worshipped there (A. Kaul, The Kashmiri Pandit, p. 29).

211 Waddell, p. 22 and ft. notes 6 & 7.

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and Ganuta from Kashmir.[212]

The Nepalese queen erected the temple of Rasahphrul Snan-gi Tsung-log-Khan (Lhasa cathedral) on the model of the monastery of Vikramśila of Magadha, and the Chinese queen erected the temple of Ramo-Che.[213] It was with the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet that its history began and civilisation spread amongst a people who had lived in barbaric darkness before 640 A.D.[214]

Srong-Detson (740-786 A D.)[215], the zealous Buddhist king of Tibet, founded many monasteries and invited Kashmiri and other Indian scholars for translating Indian works into Tibetan. The chief Indian translators were Vimal Mitra, Buddha Guhya, Śantigarbha, Vasuddhi Sinha, the Tantric Acharya Dharamakiriti and the chief Kashmiri monks Jina Mitra, Danśila and Ananda. They were assisted in the work of translation by Tibetan novices with Vairochna as their head.[216]

Padam Sambhava, belonging to Udayana, a region in the neighbourhood of Ghazani to the north-west of Kashmir was also invited. He reached Tibet in 749 A.D. and founded Lamaism.[217] He is worshipped by the majority of population and is more popular than Buddha even.[218]

212 Waddell, p. 21, ft. n. 2.
Ratanjiva, a Kashmiri monk went to Gaya, when he remained in charge of Vikramśila University. Subsequently he went to Udyana and to Tibet. He not only preached Buddhism in Tibet but wrote 14 books in Tibetan language of the same religion. (A. Kaul, The Kashmiri Pandit, p. 29).

213 Pag-Sam-Zan-Zang, part II Ed. by S.C. Dass, Contents, p. ix.

214 Waddell, p. 9.
The first Buddhist King of Tibet sent for holy scriptures from India in 623 A.D. (Rhys Davids, Buddhism, p. 247). This date coincides with Srang Gampo's period (Waddell, p. 22, ft. n. 7).

215 The history of the Mongols, part IV, intro., p. XI.

216 Waddell, p. 30.

217 Krishnam, Tattvasangraha, Vol. I, Intro., p. XI.
Waddell, p. 26.

218 Tibetan Tales (Kah-gyur) by Schiefner, "Padama Sambhava is given this honour because of his being the founder of Lamaism in Ladakh. Primitive Lamaism was probaby a mixture of Sivaite mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry, overlaid by a thin varnish of Mahayana Buddhism. And to the present day Lamaism still retains this character." (Waddell, p. 30). Lamas give great reverence to the sacred books embodying the words of Buddha. They are placed at high places and are worshipped with incense lamps etc. (Waddell, pp. 155-6).

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Tuna (630-690), a Kashmiri Pandit, translated with the help of Than-mi and his disciple Dharmakoṣa and Lha-lung-rdo-rje-dpal, a number of Buddhist works in Tibetan.[219] Another Kashmiri monk named Ananta expounded the doctrine of Buddhism in Tibet[220]. He translated a number of Buddhist works into Tibetan during the reign of King Khri-Srong-Lde-Btsan (802-842).[221]

In addition to the above mentioned Buddhist monks and scholars, a large number of other Indian scholars and monks visited Tibet including Jina Mitra (9th Century), Pandit Sannath (1027), Lakshmikar, Ramajiva Buddhśri and Śakyasribhadra.[222]

**Ladakh and Buddhist Missionaries**

Aśoka's missionaries are believed to have penetrated Ladakh and propagated Buddhism there around 250 B.C.[223] It is certain that Buddhism became firmly rooted in the land in the First Century A.D. when Kaniska send 500 Kashmiri missionaries for the propagation of the faith.[224] Fa-hein is the earliest historical figure who noticed Buddhism in a flourishing condition in Ladakh in 400 A.D. According to Fa-hein the doctrine of Lesser Vehicle or Hinayana form of Buddhism prevailed in Ladakh.[225]

Pag-Sam-Zan-Zang mentions many Kashmiri Pandits who visited Ladakh and translated Buddhist works into the Tibetan language. The Royal Lama [YaCes Hod) tired of Tantric Buddhism, invited Ratnavajra of Kashmir about 1025 A.D. to reform the faith.[226] The Tibetan King Lda-Kri-btsan-brtan invited several Kashmiri Pandits to Ladakh and had them translated certain works into the Tibetan language.[227]

219 C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 299.
220 Tattvasanghraha, Vol. I, Intro., p. X.
221 C.H.I., Vol. I, p. 302.
222 History of Buddhism in Kashmir, pp. 153 ff.
223 Cunningham, Ladakh, pp. 317-357; Waddell, p. 43.
224 Cunningham, Ladakh, pp. 317-357. The study of Chronicles of Ladakh, pp. 104-5.
225 Fa-hein, Legge., 1886, pp. 23-25.
Cunningham identifies Keeh-Cha with Ladakh (Cunningham, Ladakh, p. 359).
226 Pag-Sam-Zan-Zang,[p. 182 (Ed. by S.C. Dass) part II, contents, p. xv; J.A.S.B., Part I, 1891, p. 47.
227 Pag-Sam-Zan-Zang, p. 172 (Ed. by S.C. Dass), contents, pp. X-XII.

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Buddhist monks of the Gupta period not only popularised Buddhism and Buddhist literature in Ladakh and Tibet but gave the Bon doctrine (mysticism), the Kalachakrayana[228] system and civilized life to the people. The Tibetan script owes its origin to India. King Sran-Gampo sent Thumi-Sambhota or Thon-mi-Sam-bhota to India for study. He composed a grammar for the Tibetan language for which he borrowed the alphabet. In the 7th Century (about 640 A.D.) he adopted a script for writing the Tibetan language. It resembles the Kashmiri script of that age.[229] "Thumi Sambhota was the first who taught the Tibetans the use of Kashmirian characters which remain unchanged to this day". The credit for introducing the Devanagari alphabet of India into Tibet (in the first half of the 7th Century A.D.) also goes to Kashmir.[230] Kashmir has influenced the alphabet and pronunciation of Ladakh and Tibetan languages. Cunningham writes about the printing of primer: "The fifth circle contains the Tibetan alphabet arranged according to Sanskrit order, with all the cerebrals and aspirants complex. These last letters are not used in Tibetan words, but only in the transcription of Sanskrit names, as for instances, the 'n' in Padampani. It is remarkable that the Ch, Chh & j have all got the mark placed over them, which alters their pronunciation to ts, tsh and ds. This I think is direct proof that the Tibetans obtained their knowledge of Sanskrit as well as their alphabet from the Kashmiris, who still pronounce these letter in the above manner as Pandsal or Panjal".[231] Rahulji says, Tibetan alphabet did not need so many vowels, so 'a' was left over and four other vowels 'i, u, e, o' were kept.[232]

Whatever the controversy and details may be, the Tibetan alphabet is derived from the Indian Gupta script current from 5th to 7th Century and is arranged according to the Sanskrit order.

228 For details, pl. see History of Buddhism in Kashmir, p. 154.

229 Pag-Sam-Zan-Zang, p. 172 (Ed. S.C. Dass) Contents Part II, Contents, P. VIII. Rahulji, Tibet men Buddh-Dharma, p. 7; Waddell, pp. 21-22.

230 Cunningham, Ladakh, 1854, Intro., p. 4.

231 Cunningham, Ladakh, pp. 392-93.
There are seven circles in the block and each circle contain some formulae "Ch is used by Kashmiris to represent, S; final l, m, m, r are usually pronounced as they had a vowel added to them, w & b are sometimes convertible, Baramula is known as Waramula" (Lawrence, The valley of Kashmir, p. 454).

232 Rahulji, Tibet men Buddh-Dharma, p. 7.

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**Afghanistan**

Aśoka's missionaries seem to have popularised Buddhism in Afghanistan in the 3rd Century B.C. Due to its geographical situation, it probably became a great centre of the faith. Buddhist literature of the country has preserved the name of Menander, the Greek King of Kabul, as a serious seeker of the faith.[233]

Kaniṣka convened a Buddhist council in Kashmir and donated the whole valley to the Buddhist monks. He built a large number of monasteries, stupas and caves all over his empire extending from Central Asia to Kashmir and the Ganga.

Fa-hein writes about the valley of Swat or Woo-Chang or Udayana: "It is indeed (a part) of North India. The people all use the language of Central India, 'Central India,' being what we should call the 'Middle Kingdom'. The food and clothes of the common people are the same as in that Central kingdom. The law of Buddha is very (flourishing in Woo-Chang). They call tge places where the monks stay (for a time) or reside permanently Sangharamas and of these there are in all 500, the monks being all students of the Hinayana."[234]

Hiuen-Tsang who visited India in the 6th Century A.D., includes Lamghan, Jalalabad, Swat valley and regions further east in India. The pilgrim noticed that the people of Bamiyan and Kapisa were considerably influenced by the rude Turks' civilization but Buddhism was flourishing in both the kingdoms.[235]

As Bamiyan lay on overland route from India to the West, it commanded the most important passes which connect the Kabul valley with Balkh. Tradition says that the local royal family migrated from Kapilavastu.[236]

233 Jamal-Ud-Din Ahmed, Afghanistan, p. 45.
Menander invaded India in 155 B.C. (*Ibid*). According to tradition, Buddha visited Swat valley during his visit to North India and left a print of his foot, which is long or short according to ideas of the beholder (on the subject). It still exists alongwith the rock on which Buddha dried his clothes and converted the Nagas into the faith (Fa-hein, Legge., p. 27).

234 Fa-hein, Legge., pp. 28-29.

235 Y-Chwang, noticed that the chief cities of Persia had Hindu settlements enjoying full religious-freedom (Rei and Abulfada, ccclxxxv, quoted by R.K. Mukerji vide Indian shipping, ft. n. 2, p. 169.

236 Cl. Age, p. 621.
Recently in 1977 August, a broken Buddha's statue from Bamiyan, has been mended by Indian-sculptors.

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Yuan-Chwang writes that Buddhism was in a very flourishing state in Bamiyan. It had several thousand monks living in numerous monasteries along with several Buddhist relics. The king was Buddhist and like Harsha performed the quinquennial festival. The pilgrim found a large number of caves and colossal figures of Buddha carved on hill sides.

Recent excavations have revealed a strong Indian cultural influence over the whole of Afghanistan and even beyond the Hindukush. Indian art traditions found in fully developed state in Khotan, Kuci, Turfan, Tunh Wang and other Central Asian Countries have been found in Afghanistan as well. Hadda site which was visited by Fa-hein and Yuan-Chwang has been explored. Ruins of nearly 531 stupas and 500 sculptures (mostly stucco heads) have been found. The famous Bamiyan site has also been explored. It has brought to light several Sanskrit manuscripts and frescoes. Colossal Buddha figures and numerous caves with decorative paintings have also been discovered. In north-west Kabul, at the hill of Khair Khanh, a Surya image and the remains of a Gupta-style temple have been found. At Kapisa, a large number of ivories in the Mathura Art style of the Kuṣana period have been discovered. A little to the east, a large number of clay modellings and murals resembling those of Gupta and Pala periods have also been found.[237]

The valley of Kabul Kohdaman, Bamiyan and Nijrab are specially rich in these remains.[238]

Though Buddhism was introduced in some of the Central Asian and South-East Asian countries before the rise of Guptas, it became popular during the Gupta period. As in India so in these far off countries, the cultural activities such as sculpture, architecture, painting, music, and dancing increased manyfolds. The effect of Gupta art and architecture, literature and script are even at present to be seen in the dvipas and in the Central Asian countries.

237 Cl. Age, p. 622.
Kapisa (Kafirstan) was a powerful kingdom having ten neighbouring states under it. It extended upto Sindhu. The king was Kṣatriya by caste and a Buddhist by faith. It had 100 monasteries, 6,000 priests and many sacred relics. I-Tsing says that Bodh Gaya had a 'Kapisa temple' where priests from the country lived. (Cl. Age, p. 621).

238 Jamal-Ud-Din-Ahmed, Afghanistan, p. 47.

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# Appendix A

## The Ganges and Bhagirath Myth

King Sagar ruled over Ayodhya, long long ago. He had two queens Keshini and Sumiti. He had one son Asmanjas from Keshni and sixty-thousand sons from Suniti. Asmanjas was very cruel and used to drown small children of tender age in water. King Sagar, being tired of his ill-behaviour with public, banished him from his kingdom.

When King Sagar performed the Aṣvamedha Yajña, Indra the god-king grew jealous and somehow stole the horse and tied it behind Sage Kapila who was absorbed in his samadhi. Asmanjas's son Anshuman who was safeguarding the horse was much perturbed.

King Sagar's sixty thousand sons deputed to search the horse, mistook the sage Kapila for a thief and started keeping a watch over him. Understanding their mean motive, the sage cursed and reduced them to ashes. When Anshuman found the ashes of his uncles he was grieved. He wanted to offer holy-water to the departed souls, but that was not available. Garuḍa the bird-god advised him to get holy water from heaven. King Sagar, Anshuman and King Dalip penanced heart and soul for years to get holy waters from heaven.

At last King Dalip's enlightened son Bhagirath, with his ceaseless devotion, pleased Brahma and was granted a boon to recover the holy water of Ganges. Lord Śiva granted him a boon by holding the Ganga in his hair (Jata). Finally Bhagirath's bhakti brought the Holy Ganga from heaven to the earth, and the sixty-thousand sons of King Sagar were granted salvation alongwith other ancestors of King Sagar.

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# Appendix B

FOR FAVOUR OF REVIEW

## Nalanda University

Nalanda, a few miles north of Rajagriha, seems to owe its foundation to Śariputra, who lived, taught and died there. Śariputra, according to tradition, is connected with the elaboration of Dharma and systematic study of the doctrine. He was the leading monk, who was charged by Lord Buddha with 'Research' or elaboration on Abhidharma lines.[1] Nalanda as a centre of learning became famous after the rise of Mahayana.

Early Madhyamika teachers especially Nagarjuna are supposed to have worked here. Dinnāga is credited for founding there his 'Parmāṇa' school, which after this became the main centre of the theory of knowledge.

Yuan-Chwang who visited India in 7th century A.D., records, that after the death of Buddha, Nālanda (Na-alam-da) i.e. 'insatiable in giving' turned into a big learning centre due to the patronage of

1 Lamotte, H.B.I., p. 209 notes the agreement of the Vatsiputriyas Tradition with the *5th avir avada*. (Quoted by A. Warder, Indian Buddhism, ft. n. I, p. 464).

Nalanda is identified with Bargaon near Patna in Bihar. The ruins of university has been unearthed there. Nalanda University ground of establishment, a mango park originally, was purchased by 500 merchants for 10 kotis of gold coins and presented to Buddha (Y. Ch. Watters, p. 164).

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many kings.[2] According to the pilgrim six monasteries built by as many kings constituted the Nalanda University. The inauguration of King Baladitya's monastery was attended by two Chinese pilgrims whose names and whereabouts after that are unknown.[3]

A monastery was built by King Sakraditya (who has been identified with Kumara Gupta I). The original monastery had an image of Buddha, and was in ruins when Yuan-Chwang visited it.[4] By the time of I-Tsing, only the foundations of the monastery were visible.

After Sakraditya, Buddha Gupta, Tahogata Gupta, Baladitya, Vajra and Harsha built monasteries. Starting like this in a humble manner with a monastery or two Nalanda soon developed into an International Centre of learning and culture. It attracted students not only from all over India but also from foreign countries. "As the number of students increased, more monasteries were built and thus Nalanda became a great complex of imposing hostels, lecture-rooms, Libraries and observatories all enclosed by a wall. The entrance was through a large gate, which opened into the great college from which were separated eight other halls, standing in the middle of the Sangharama."[5]

This was a Mahayana Buddhist university and all the students were Buddhist monks. The rush of the students must have been very great, as strict rules of admission had to be enforced. Yuan-Chwang writes, "...of those from other lands, who wished to enter the schools for discussion the majority, beaten by the difficult problems withdrew" while those who were profound in ancient and modern lore 'obtained entrance'.[6]

Nalanda according to the Chinese pilgrims had brilliant teachers like Dharmapala, Chandrapala, Gunmati, Shrimati, Śilabhadra

2 Maj. Nik, Vol. I, p. 371.
Digha. I, pp. 211, 212; 81-82 (Tr. by Rhys Davids).
Buddhist Suttas, pp. 12-15.
Yuan-Chwang himself studied in this University. Silabhadra was the head of the university at that time. The Chinese pilgrim studied Yoga Sutras and many other shastras with such diligence that he came to be regarded as one of the fifty most distinguished scholars of the university. (Sri Harha of Kanauj, by Panikkar, p. 49).
3 Y. Ch. Watters II, p. 166.
4 Y. Ch. Watters II, p. 167.
5 B.G. Gokhle, Anc. India, p. 157.
6 Y. Ch. Watters II, p. 168.
Beal, Vol. II, pp. 120 ff.

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Jinamitra. Dharamkirti (Dharampala), Śantaraksita and Padam Sambhava. Śilabhadra was the abbot of Nalanda establishment at the time of Yuan-Chwang's visit. He became pilgrims' friend, Gunamati and Shrimati were contemporaries, the latter perhaps died in 450 A.D. Dharmapala died probably in 600 A.D. Jinamitra was famous as the author of a valuable 'Compendium of Vinaya of the Sarvastivadins' which was translated by I-Tsing (Nanjio Cata. No. 1127).[7]

The number of students living at Nalanda was 30,000. I-Tsing says, "In the Nalanda monastery the number of priests is immense. It exceeds 3000". The traveller further adds, that it was difficult for so many to assemble at one place, the worship was held separately in eight different halls of this university. Every day one preceptor used to go from place to place chanting hymns, preceded by monastic lay-servants and children carrying incense and flowers. He would go from hall to hall chanting ślokas in high tone and the sound was heard all-around. By twilight he finished his duties.

The highest officer of the administration was Kulapati, who was assisted by Pandits and a hierarchy of officials.

The university had an excellent library consisting of three buildings Ratnasagar, Ratnanidhi and Ratnaranjaka. The entire library of these three buildings was known as Dharmaganga. Ratnanidhi was very famous for being the storehouse of sacred texts of Prajña ya Pāramita group and Tāntric works.

The atmosphere of work at Nalanda can be gauged from I-Tsing's observations: "Here at Nalanda, eminent and accomplished men assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of support to their opinions by wise men, became far famed for their wisdom". The whole place resounded with serious discussions.

Nalanda was financed by munificent endowments made by several kings. Hwui Li says: "The king of the country respects and honours the priests and has remitted the revenues of about 100 villages for the endowment of the convent. Two hundred house holders in these villages day to day contribute several hundred 'picula'[8] of ordinary rice and several hundred 'chatties' in weight of

7 Y. Ch., Watters II, pp. 167-169.

8 Picula is equal to 133-1/8 lbs, (Saletore, Life in Gup. Age, ft. I, p. 591).
In 7th Century A.D., Nalanda had the revenue of 200 villages besides other money in cash and investment (Beal, Vol. II, p. 120).

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butter and milk. Hence the students are so abundantly supplied that they do not require to ask for four requisites (Robes, food, lodging and medicines). This is the source of perfection of their studies, to which they have arrived".

As Nalanda encouraged the study of philosophy and literature, grammar and Art, it attracted many foreign scholars like Hiun-Tsang, Hiuen Chin, Hwui Li, Tang, Tao-Tsing, and Arya Varman. Hence it was a meeting place of diverse views and cultures. The university functioned from 500 A.D. to 1300 A.D. and was destroyed by the sword and fire of the foreign invader.

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1. Bedecked Coiffure (11-12 Centuries AD)
This seems to be Kalidasas, कुञ्चिताग्र hair styles evolution

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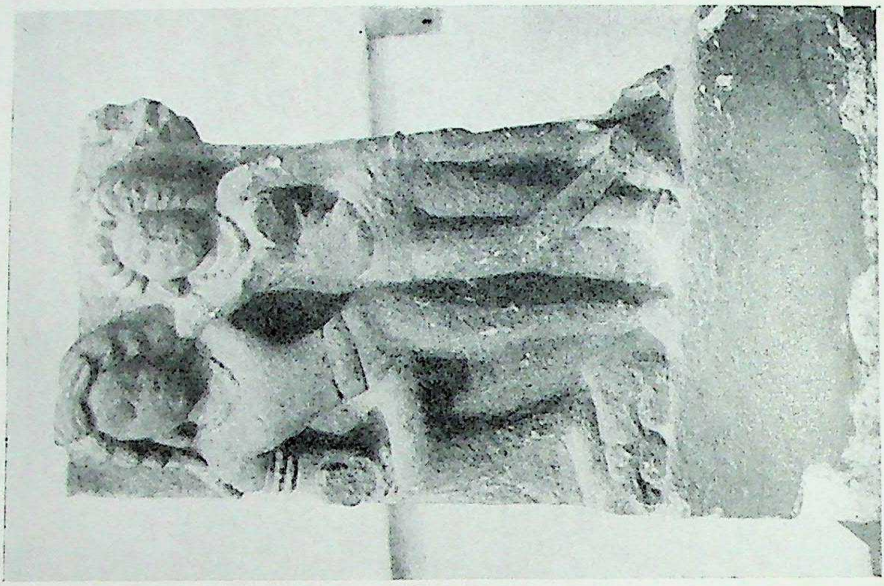

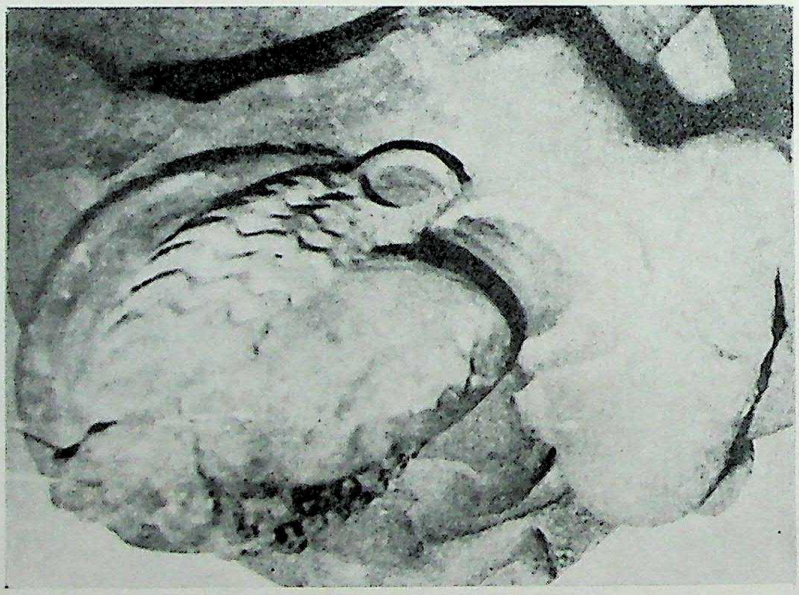

2. Beautiful Hair Styles of Gupta Period
[Shri L K Jha's (Governor J & K State) Collection]

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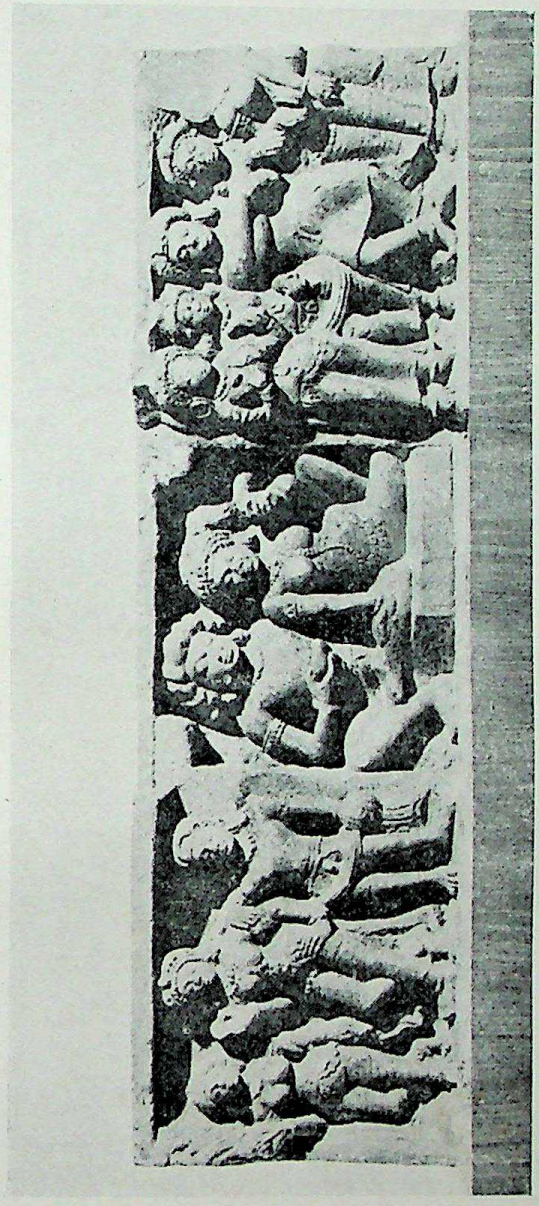

3. Deogarh Temple Panel

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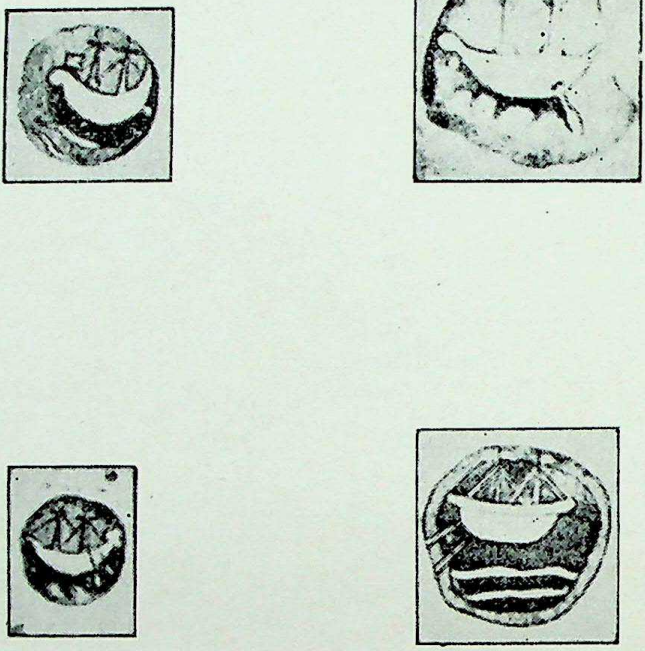

4. Andhra Ship-Coins of the Second Century A.D.

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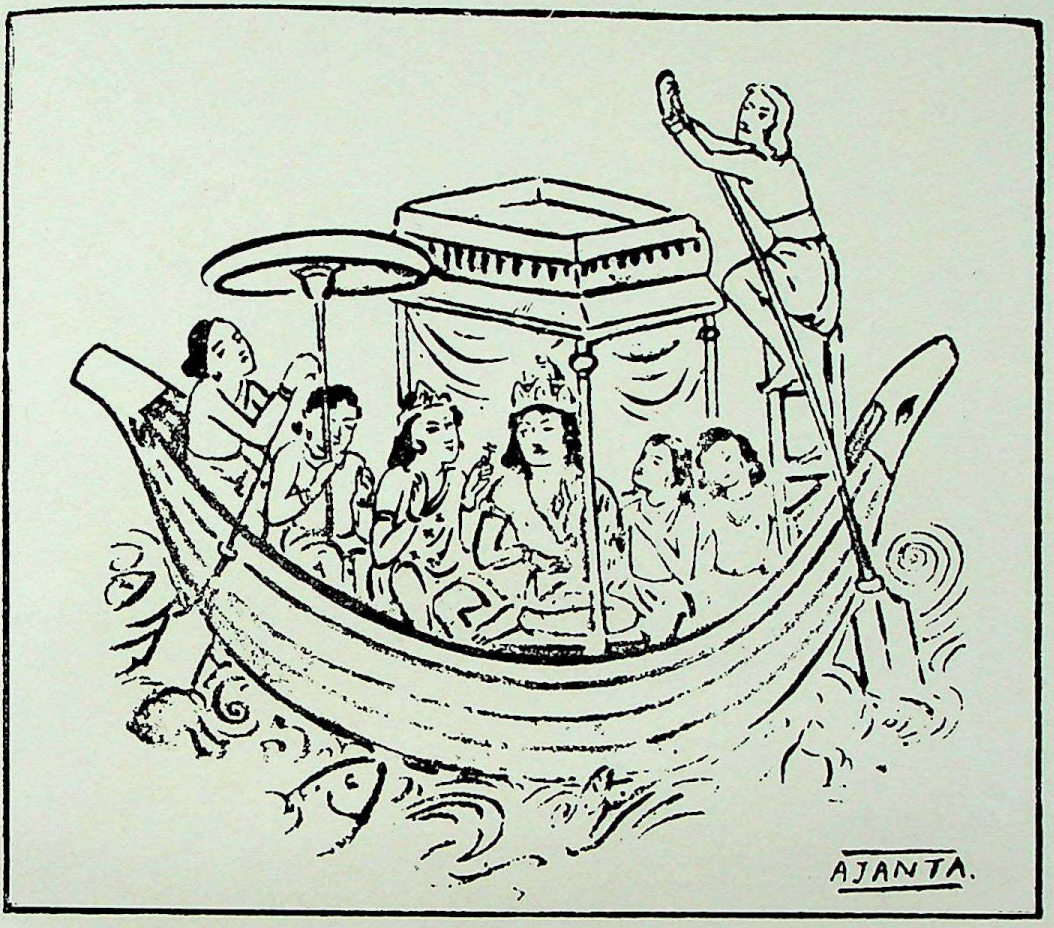


5. THE ROYAL PLEASURE-BOAT
(From the Ajanta Paintings)

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6. Vikramorvashi. Terra-Cotta

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7. Headless Buddha
Gupta, 5th Century AD (Mathura)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

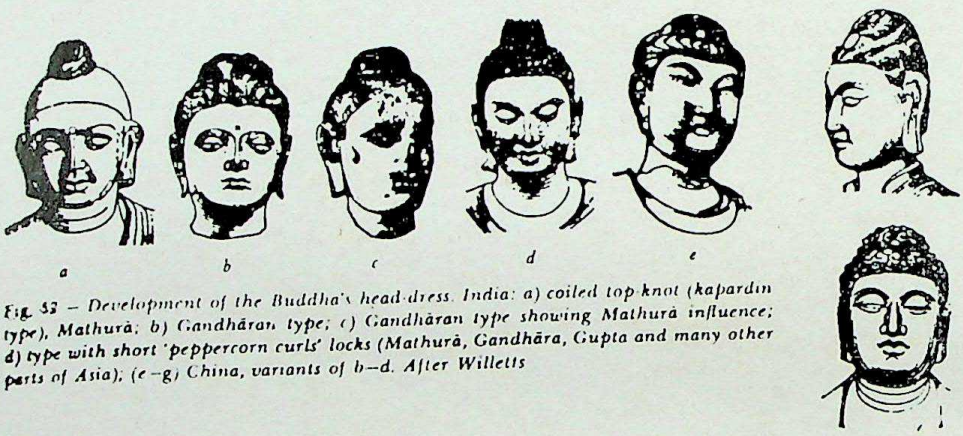


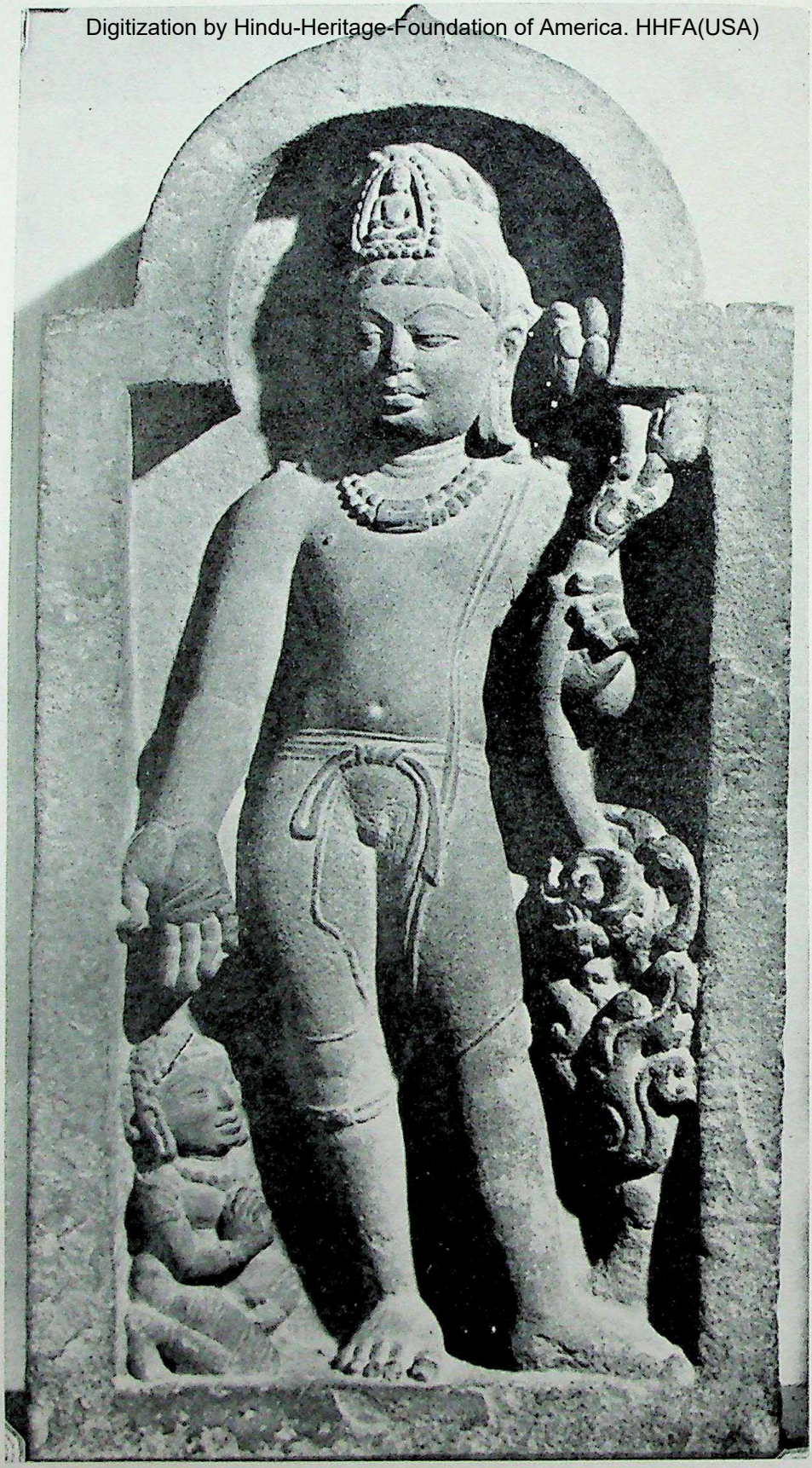

*Fig. 53 – Development of the Buddha's head-dress, India: a) coiled top knot (kapardin type), Mathurā; b) Gandhāran type; c) Gandhāran type showing Mathurā influence; d) type with short 'peppercorn curls' locks (Mathurā, Gandhāra, Gupta and many other parts of Asia); (e–g) China, variants of b–d. After Willetts*

8. Buddha's Head Dresses. Reproduced from the 'Art of India'.

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

9. Tara. 9th and 10th Century AD

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)



10. Bodhisatva Padam Pani 6th Century AD

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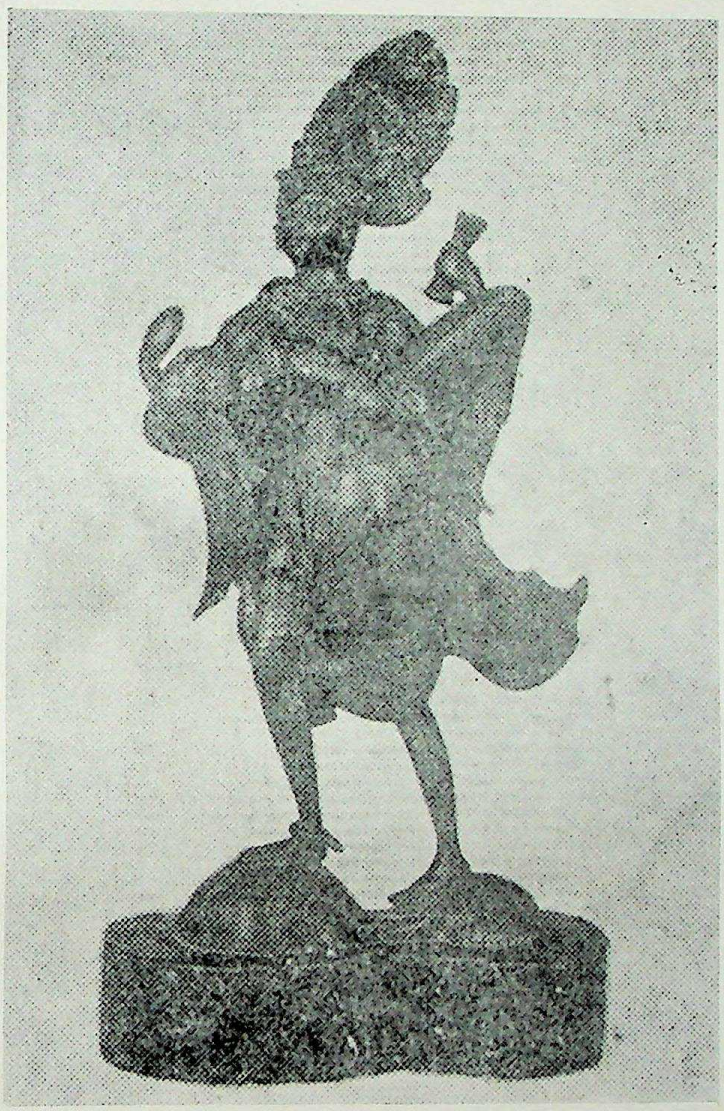

11. This bronze image (10th century AD) of Lord Shiva carrying the body of Sati has been registered with the Central Museum in Indore by a private collector.

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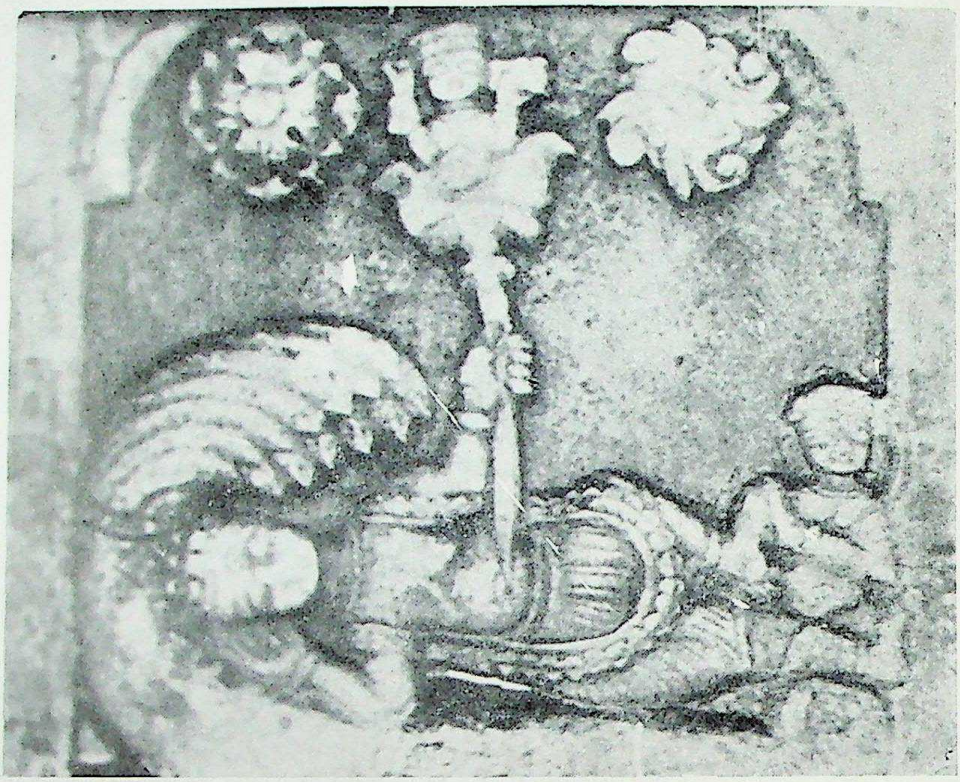
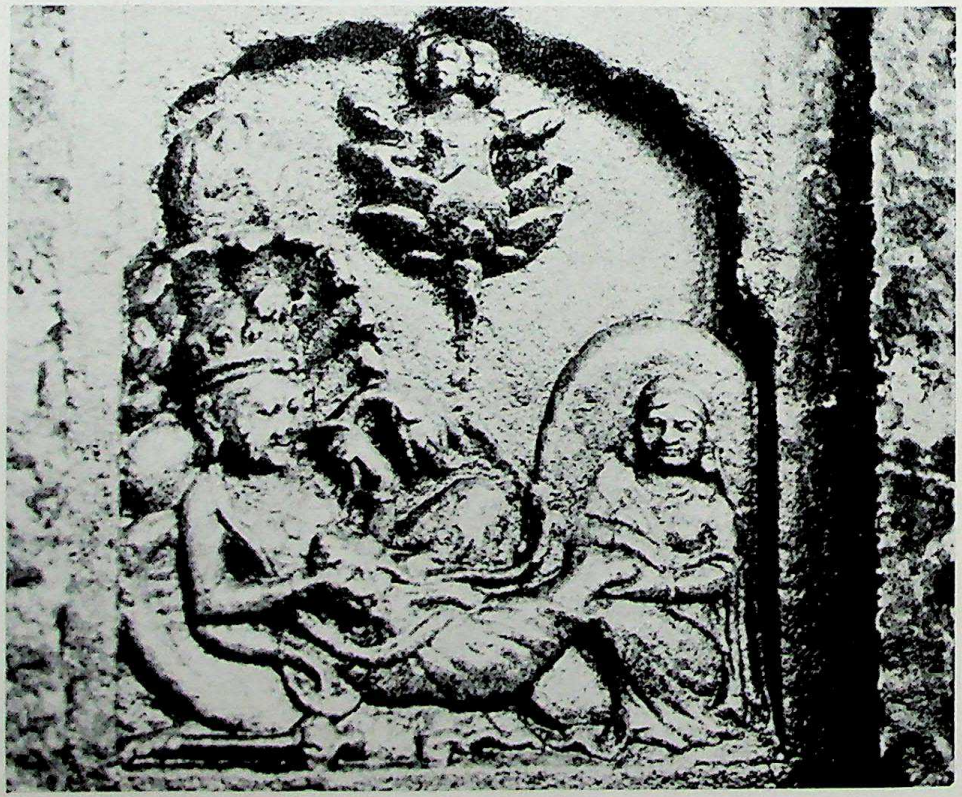
12. Nataraja. Nachana Kuthara

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)

13. Siva Parvati. Basoli. Late Gupta Period
D.A.G. Collection (Jammu)

Digitization by Hindu-Heritage-Foundation of America. HHFA(USA)





14. Visnu Anantsyam and Padam Nabha
Billawar (Jammu Region)

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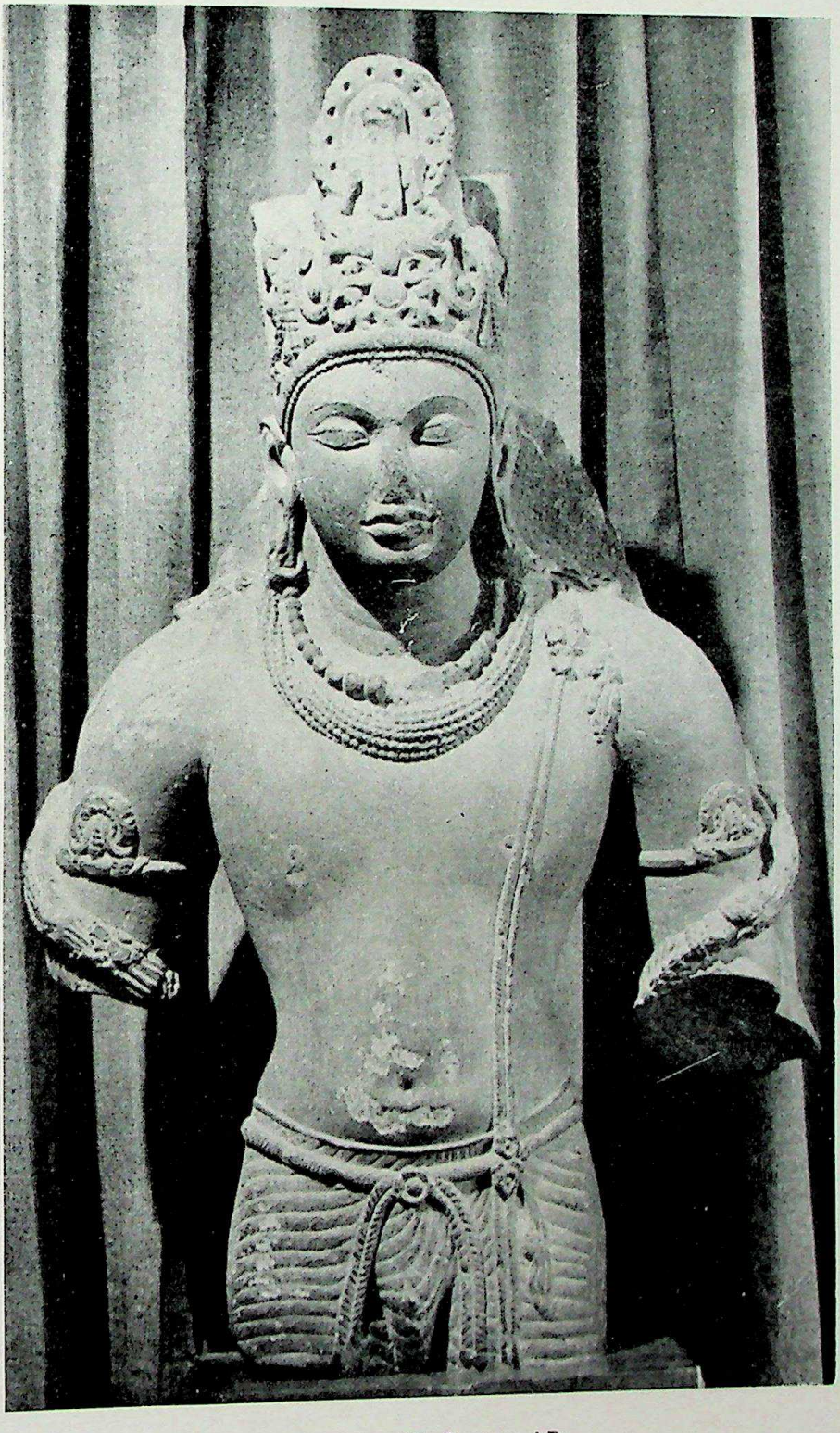

15. Vishnu 5th Century AD

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16. Siva (Shri L K Jha's collection)

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17. Ek—Mukh-Linga

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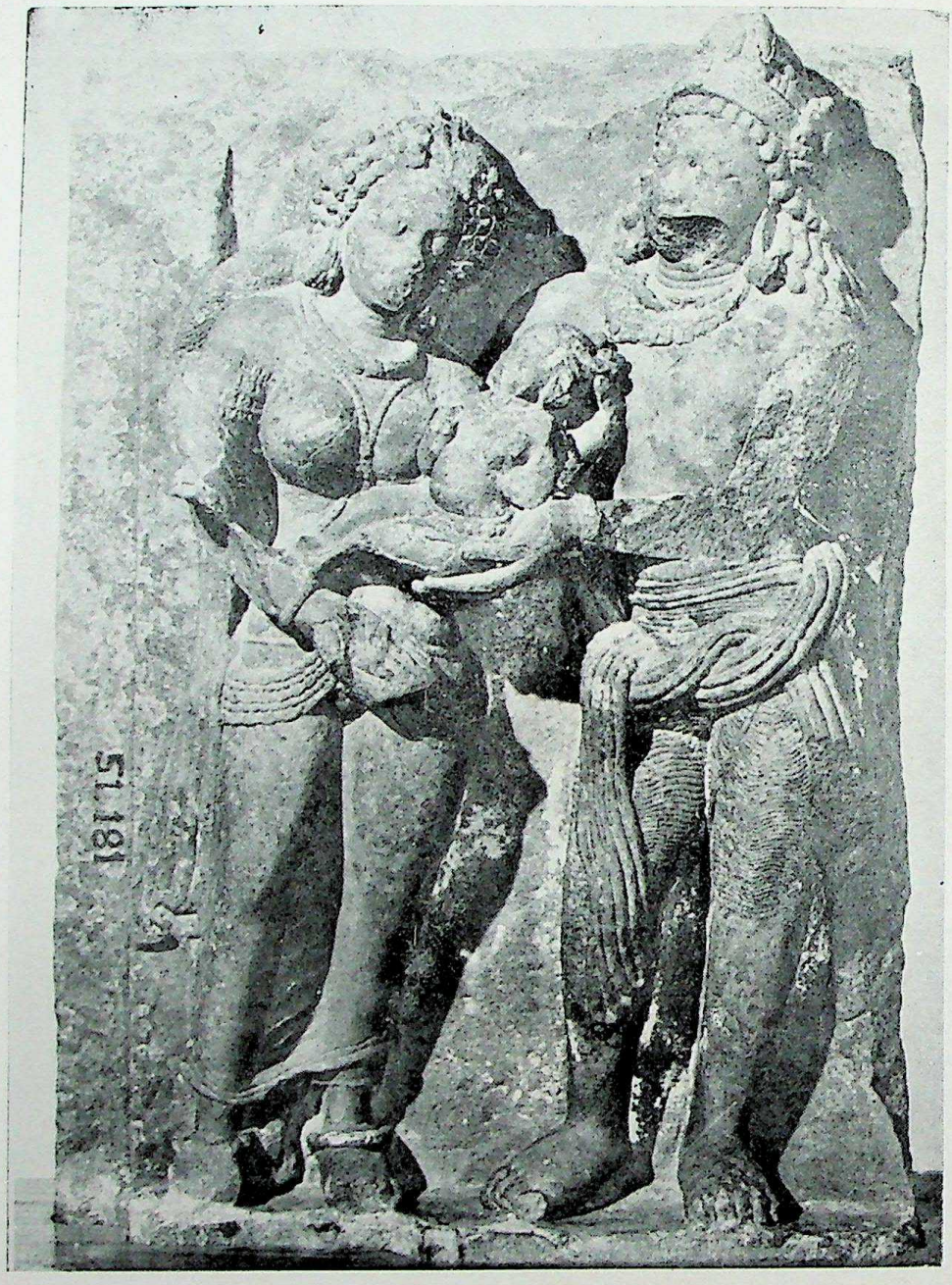


18. Devaki Handing over baby Krishna to Vasudeva.
Deogarh. 5th Century AD

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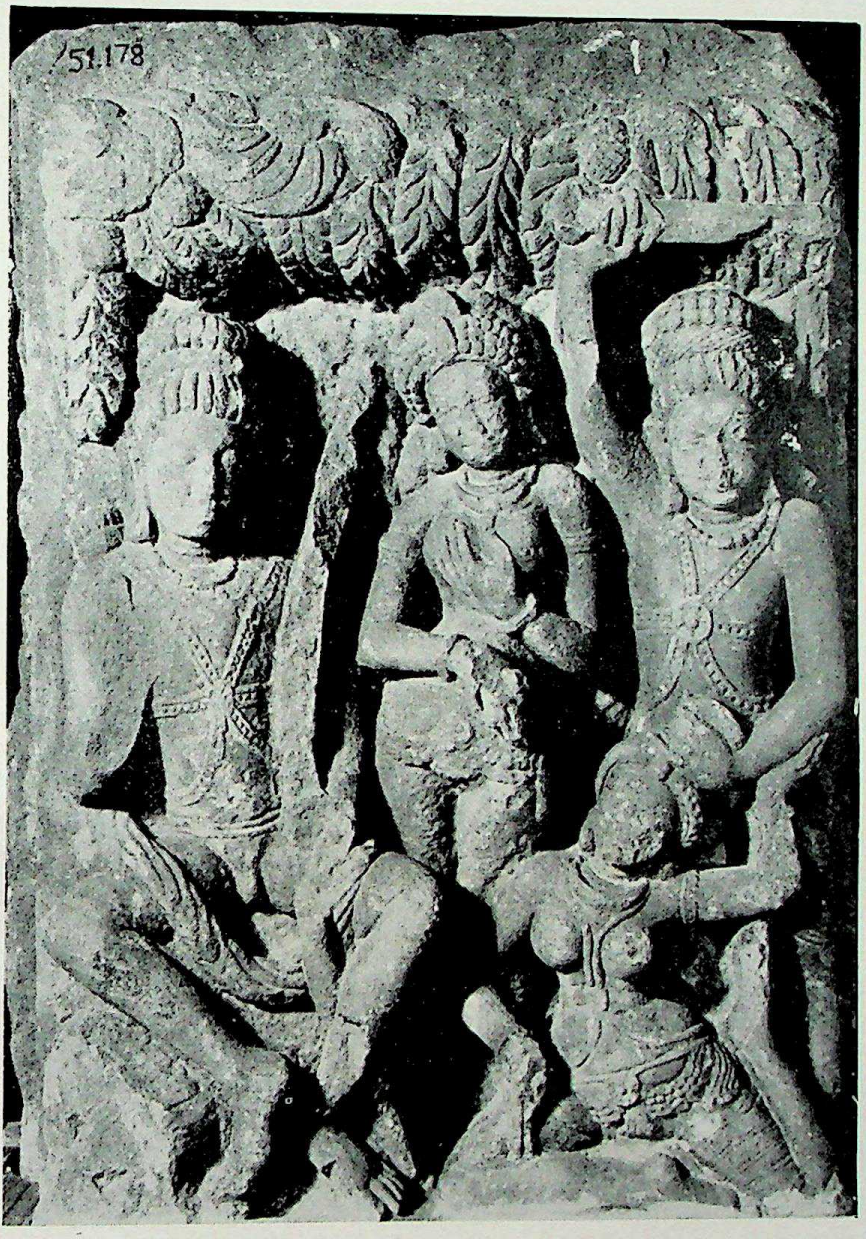


19. Lakshmana Disfiguring Sarupnaka.
5th Century AD

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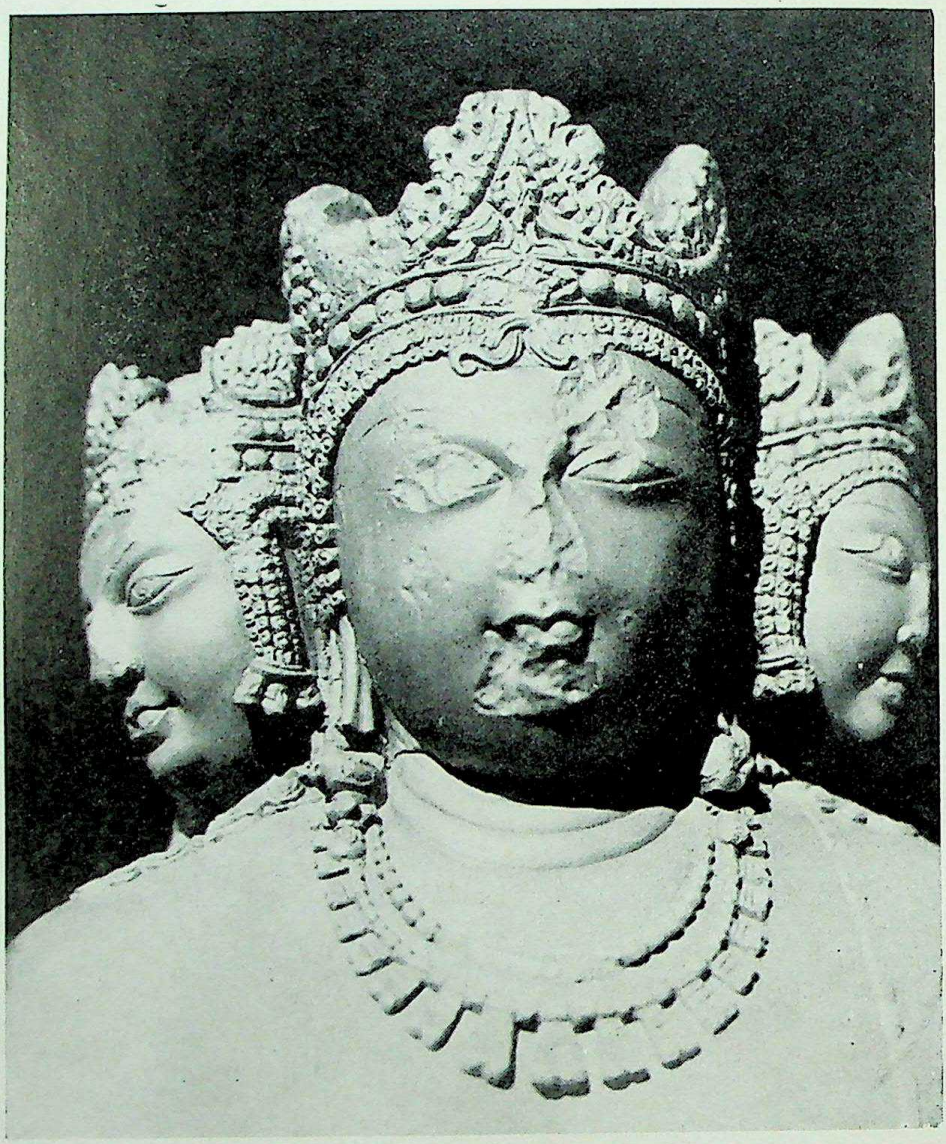

20. Three Headed Vishnu. Gupta Idiom
D. A G. Collection (Jammu).

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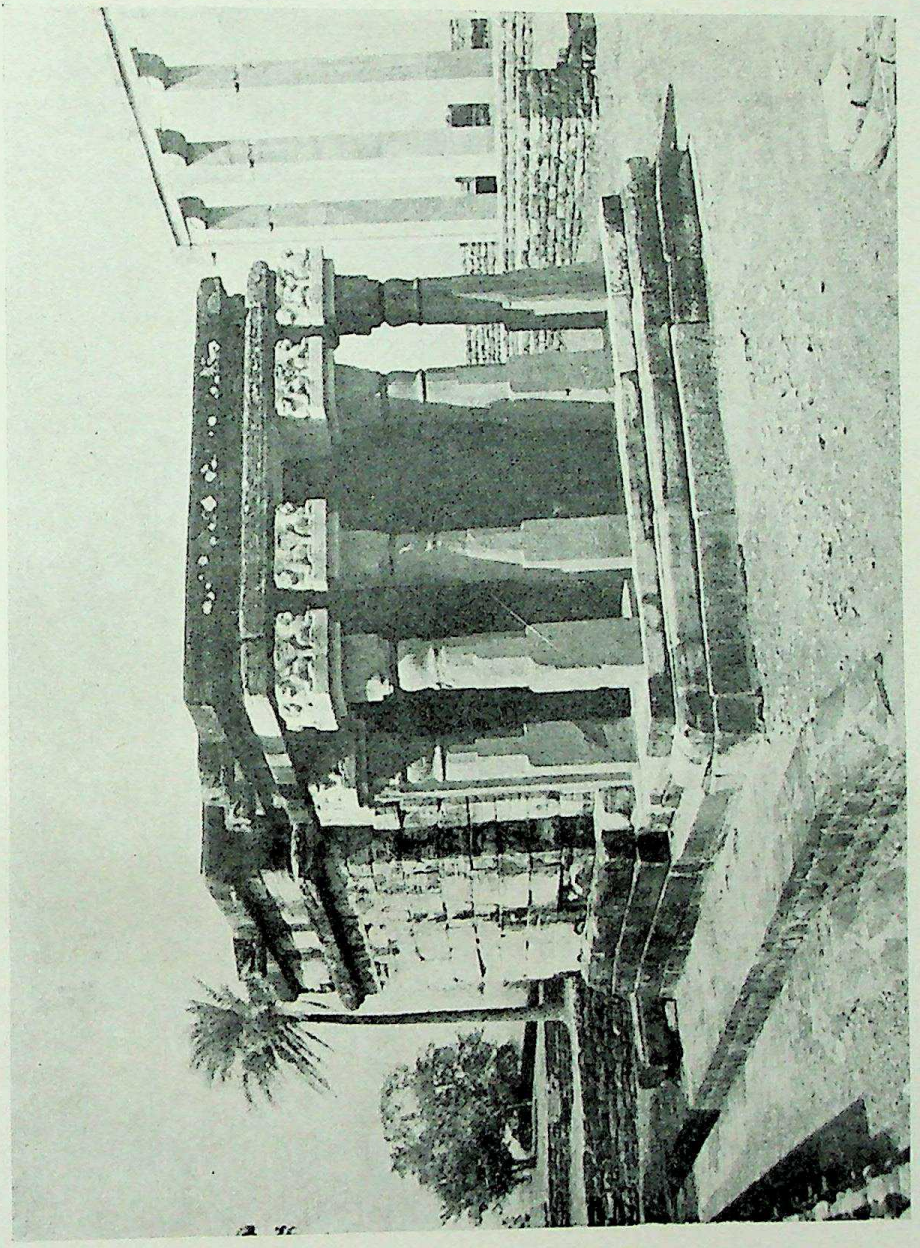

21. Gupta Sanchi Temple

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22. Bhitargaon Temple

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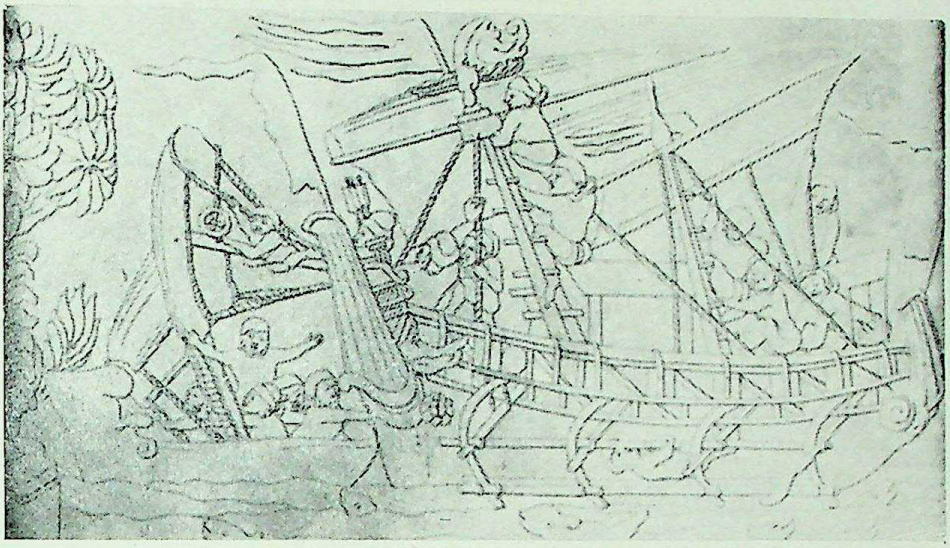
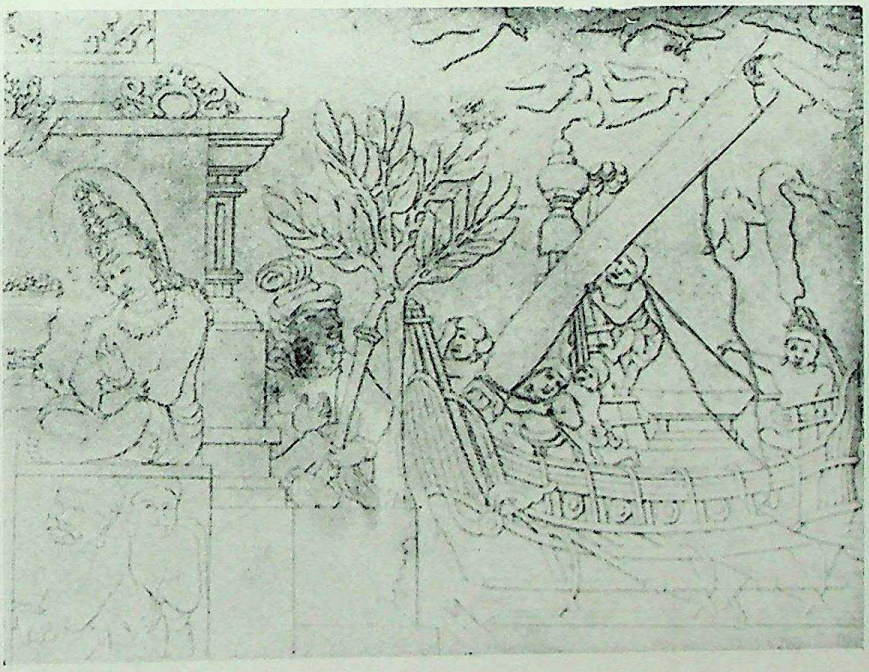


23 (a) Indian Adventurers Sailing out to Colonize Java.
No. 5. (Reproduced from the Sculptures of Borobudur.)



23 (b) Indian Adventurers Sailing out to Colonize Java.
No. 6. (Reproduced from the Sculptures of Borobudur.)

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